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# Near East/North Africa Report

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## NEAR EAST/NORTH AFRICA REPORT

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COMPETITION AMONG SAUDI SISTER PUBLICATIONS DESCRIBED

London AL-MAJALLAH in Arabic No 92, 14-20 Nov 81 p 4

[Editorial by Hisham and Muhammad 'Ali Hafiz: "Message From the Publisher"]

[Text] 'Abd al-Karim Abu al-Nasr, editor-in-chief of AL-MAJALLAH, wrote some warm words of welcome in the last issue of AL-MAJALLAH on the occasion of the appearance of the first issue of AL-MUSLIMUN.

Together with Zuhayr al-Ayyubi and the editorial staff of AL-MUSLIMUN we thank him for his friendly words and sincere sentiments toward a new sister publication.

We feel it appropriate to say in this connection a word concerning the relationship that unites the different publications of the Saudi Arabian Research and Marketing Corporation.

For, despite the fact that AL-SHARQ AL-AWSAT, AL-MAJALLAH, SAYYIDATI, and AL-MUSLIMUN are all put out by the same publishing house, we collectively and individually bear the responsibility for its operation as publishers. Nevertheless, the competition between them is very keen. We greatly encourage this competition and want it to continue just as we want not to go beyond the recognized bounds for competition between brothers.

You can imagine our difficult and delicate attitude toward every publication and every editor-in-chief because with respect to each of them we are a source of confidence and a repository of secrets and information which he wants to conceal and to work on as secretly as possible, far from the eyes of the other publications.

We have been desirous of playing this role to perfection. We endeavored to win the trust of everyone and develop this competition to something constructive that serves the interest of all these competing publications and pleases the editors-in-chief who are unusually sensitive to their right to ideas and matters they propose to carry out.

The clearest signs of the success of this approach are revealed by many examples. 'Abd al-Karim Abu al-Nasr, editor-in-chief of AL-MAJALLAH, undertook negotiations to publish the memoirs of Kissinger and Mahmud Riyad in AL-SHARQ AL-AWSAT.

Dr Fatinah Shakir voluntarily offered some of her editors and technicians to assist in readying AL-MUSLIMUM for publication before its technical and editorial personnel were in place. Similarly, the editorial staff of AL-MUSLIMUM with its expertise in religious matters is very happy to share it with other publications.

We have encountered at times embarrassing situations in which one publication is working on some particular problem that we find more suitable for another publication. So you find us using various means of convincing the former to abandon it in favor of the latter.

Nevertheless, the editor-in-chief of every publication, he and his press crew, are working in absolute secrecy to carry out their projects far from the eyes and ears of workers in the other publications except Muhammad al-Shaybayni, editor-in-chief of THE ARAB NEWS. In addition to this job, he is editorially responsible in Saudi Arabia for the publications that come out in London. You can imagine his difficult and unenviable situation, but by hard work and diplomacy he has been able to satisfy everyone as well as himself as editor-in-chief of a large and well-known daily newspaper. This may be due both to his personality and to the fact that the newspaper THE ARAB NEWS is in a different language. If that weren't the case, their screams would all have reached high heaven by this time.

5214

CSO: 4505/105

## INTER-ARAB AFFAIRS

### OPPOSITIONIST STUDENTS IN UK, IRELAND MEET

London AL-DUSTUR in Arabic No 207, 9 Nov 81 pp 14-15

[Text] The League of Democratic Unionist Students in the UK and Ireland celebrated the anniversary of the people's October revolution in the Sudan which swept away the first military regime and Lt Gen 'Abbud in 1964.

The celebration was more like a family gathering in which Muhammad 'Abd al-Jawwad, one of the leaders of the Sudanese resistance, took part and in which Sudanese present as well as brother Arabs and representatives of the National Union of Iraqi Students in London and of the Union of Libyan Students discussed lessons to be learned from today in order to sweep away the Numayri regime and guarantee the continuation of the patriotic nationalist revolution in the Sudan.

Brother 'Isam 'Abd al-Rahim, president of the League, started off the meeting with a statement in which he stressed the need to take advantage of this opportunity to ponder the October when the revolution occurred and the future of the people's nationalist movement. Then Muhammad 'Abd al-Jawwad opened the meeting by making it clear that its purpose was to identify points for discussion and answer such questions as: Why did the regime of Lt Gen 'Abbud in the Sudan arise? How was it overthrown? What important and necessary tasks need to be performed in order to prevent a repetition of the reversal of the October revolution and bring about the success of a cohesive people's nationalist operation so that the future October will be more effective?

After asserting that the discussion should revolve around how we can protect the revolutionary regime after the overthrow of Ja'far Numayri, 'Abd al-Jawwad suggested that the brothers present be allowed to begin the discussion and develop it through questions...and the symposium got under way.

Answering a question concerning mobilizing the people inside the country against the Numayri regime and the way in which the work of overthrowing it could be hastened, 'Abd al-Jawwad said the Sudanese people inside the country are standing against the regime, which has become isolated from them. He added that steps to mobilize the people are proceeding on two parallel paths--one public, the other secret. He indicated in this connection that the Democratic Unionist Party and its allies are playing a crucial role in all the organizations and popular forces and uniting them by a set program from the north and the south.

The speaker also noted that the Sudanese people have not had stability since the Numayri regime came to power and that uprisings are breaking out, some armed, some unarmed. There are also disturbances and civil insurrections and other indicators confirming that action within the Sudan is still strong and going forward. The speaker also asserted that the coming days will witness operations of greater scope. He said what happened in Egypt with the assassination of Sadat demonstrates that the Arab nation is a "living nation" and that it is clear what the end of the path of treachery and deviation will be, sooner or later.

Answering a question regarding the role of the Union of Sudanese Students in mobilizing the masses and confronting the regime, brother 'Isam explained that the students' activities rest on two pillars, one is informational and motivating, the other has to do with events of the revolution. As an example, he mentioned what happened in October when [the people] were mobilized against 'Abbud's regime and Khartoum University students then took part in demonstrations coordinated with different universities and institutes, uniting with the Sudanese people's forces and launching a revolution that swept away the regime.

One of the brethren present asked a two-part question. The first dealt with the factors that led to 'Abbud's coup after a democratic regime which had existed in the Sudan since independence. The second was concerned with the causes of the reversal of the October 1964 revolution, advent of the Numayri regime, and the reasons why it was welcomed by the Arabs in the beginning.

Muhammad 'Abd al-Jawwad answered the first part by clarifying the circumstances and conditions that had prevailed in the Sudan, in other Arab countries, and elsewhere in the world prior to 'Abbud's coup. He said democracy existed in the sense that there were parties, elections, and a parliament. Unfortunately, there was a division in the nationalist camp and this division enabled the Umma Party, the rightist party, to come to power. All the patriotic forces expanded great effort to close the nationalist ranks.

The speaker continued by saying that when the effort to close ranks began to show positive results, there erupted at the Arab national level the 14 July revolution in Iraq. The popular revolt broke out in Lebanon and the United Arab Republic embracing Syria and Egypt came into being. The rightist colonial forces in the Sudan sensed danger, fearing the patriotic upsurge would intensify in the Sudan and put an end to the division existing inside the country. Since they wanted to keep it isolated from the Arab revolution, they suggested to President 'Abdallah Khalil, secretary of the Umma Party, who suggested in turn to a group of army men that they launch a military coup to finish off the patriotic upsurge, do away with the democratic fora, and stand against the interests and aspirations of our people.

The October 1964 revolution came 6 years later as a mass grouping of all patriotic organizations, associations, and groups that united to sweep away 'Abbud's revolution.

As for the May 1969 revolution, the speaker explained that the democratic interlude that prevailed previously had many negative features so that division persisted, and democracy ebbed and flowed. 'Abd al-Jawwad said the May revolution



came forward at first with slogans representing itself as a continuation of the October revolution such as socialism, patriotism, and unity. It also voiced nationalist slogans, so it initially won support within the country and in the Arab World until it evolved, and 25 May turned into an operation that ended in the treacherous and perverted situation existing today.

The speaker concluded, saying that the lesson to be drawn from this is that all forces must be united and democratic activity must be built on a foundation consistent with the interests and future aspirations of the people in order to prevent another repetition of the reversal.

Digressing from this point to answer the question of whether there is a future program to maintain the solidarity of the organizations allied against al-Numayri after his overthrow, the speaker said there must first be a transitional period after al-Numayri is swept away to permit the introduction of basic changes, implementation of reforms, purges and political isolation along with the building of supports to insure against a reversal.

The discussion then moved on to a number of points relating to ways of reforming the corrupt social, economic, and political practices prevalent during the Numayri era in the Sudan, and the factors behind the downfall of al-Sadiq al-Mahdi and Hasan al-Turabi's group in the heart of the regime, the various army militias organized by al-Sharif Husayn al-Hindi, leader of the Sudanese resistance and president of the Democratic Unionist Party, and the party's cells and bases within the Sudan and abroad.

Participants spoke about evidence that al-Numayri's jails are filled with patriots, nationalists, and progressives at the level of those struggling [against the regime]. There was also a discussion of some views on the form of government to follow the downfall of al-Numayri, on the need to eliminate all those who participated and are (now) collaborating in the destruction of democracy, on establishing essential supports for the regime that will rest on cooperation of the people with all the patriotic forces, on supporting the central issue in Palestine, and on helping peace-loving peoples and worldwide liberation movements.

In his final remarks, Muhammad 'Abd al-Jawwad affirmed that the Democratic Unionist Party led by al-Sharif Husayn al-Hindi in his patriotic, nationalist, and progressive alliance, has rules and regulations to prevent a reversal of the coming revolution. He asserted there is no doubt about this revolution or about the use of past experience. He said this meeting to commemorate the October revolution is a station on the way to a great and decisive explosion. And after explaining that he is not speaking about desire, but about known facts and to a great extent from an understanding of what is happening, he concluded by saying that the breaking of the Numayri ring in Khartoum will signify a fundamental change in the direction of the liberation movement, nationalism, and unity with all that that implies in the way of powerful and fundamental support for the Arab revolution and the central issue in Palestine...and "We announce that the revolution is coming and that we are optimistic, not mystically but objectively, about our party, our pacts, and our alliances. And we will meet in Khartoum next October, God willing.

LIBYAN-SUDANESE CONFLICT SEEN AS ALREADY UNDERWAY

Paris DEFENSE NATIONALE in French Dec 81 pp 176-179

[Article by Bernard Brionne "Libya-Sudan: Conflict Inevitable?"]

[Text] The assassination of President Anwar al-Sadat seems to have been brought about not only by opposition to his policy of peace with Israel or the economic problems Egypt is facing despite its closer relations with the West; it was also the most unfortunate consequence of the rebirth of a religious fundamentalism affecting the whole Muslim world, which is disillusioned with the lifestyles engendered by Western thought and Soviet ideology. Peoples whose standard of living is declining, while in the rest of the world it is improving, can, at least in their view, only find the strength to struggle against the misfortunes with which they believe they are cursed by returning to their traditions. The paradox, however, is that Muslim fundamentalism, depending on how and where it manifests itself, is sometimes supported by the Western countries and in other cases by the dark forces of communism. In Afghanistan, for instance, the partisans of the Islamic republic are fighting with American aid against a "socialist" government kept in power by the Soviet Army. In Egypt, Sudan and a number of countries in the Maghreb, however, the religious current opposes the degenerate influence of Western culture, with the more or less explicit encouragement from a visionary who does not shrink from dealing with what he calls the devil to fulfill his dream. In Iran, however, religious fundamentalism is struggling on two fronts: In order to protect itself, it has an ideology for export which it hopes will lead to the weakening of the position of the forces which either support various internal opposition currents or foment continued strife between them.

Confining ourselves to Muslim Africa--with the exception of the shores of the Indian Ocean, where the religious problem seems for the moment less critical, because of the relative stability of the secular states which border it--Islam in its fundamentalist form has spread all the way from Chad to Gambia and the Mediterranean, and wherever it has spread it has occasioned problems which while difficult to define and categorize nevertheless worry the governments in place.

We know about the problems in Senegambia and the role that seems to have been played there by religious agitators in exile in Libya. We know about the events in Chad, the struggle between the two ethnic-religious factions, one supported by Libya and the other by Sudan, while the animistic-Christian majority in the south looked on passively. Nor have we forgotten the influence exerted by Colonel

al-Qadhdhafi on POLISARIO's religious extremists. Less well known are some of the problems which for more than 2 years have arisen from time to time in some parts of Algeria: Sidi Bel Abbes, Oran, even Algiers itself, where fundamentalists are trying to rid certain mosques of the imams named by the Ministry of religious Affairs. The most serious incidents took place in the Algerian Sahara, at El Oued, in January 1980 and, more recently, in October 1981, at Laghouat, the birthplace of the Tidjania, whose influence was felt throughout sub-Saharan Africa. In Tunisia, too, President Bourguiba has felt constrained to defend himself against a fundamentalism that is often pro-Libyan in tone and which is organized into the "Islamic Tendency Movement" (MTI): 107 of that organization's partisans received harsh sentences of 4 September on charges of "violence, inciting to rebellion, infringement of the rights of individuals, and violations of the freedom of religious observance."

Observers of Saharan and Sahelian Africa often take Colonel al-Qadhdhafi's ambitions as an expression of a religious fundamentalism whose origin is as described above. It is true that the conditions underlying the former are in general dependent on the existence of the latter; moreover, the one gives the other the material means for taking shape and expressing itself. However, it is interesting to note that the Libyan president, in his domestic administration, which he intends to be an example to the whole Muslim world, borrows more from Bedouin customs than from Koranic texts. It would even appear that the rules the Koran lays down for governing practical affairs seem to him already too heavily imbued with the concept of city life. The "direct democracy" he preaches is the democracy of "the earliest times, when men came armed into the assembly." The men authorized to bear arms are the men of the tribe, those who have the right to speak. "Vagabonds, foreigners, people without property or roots" are not considered members of the clan; they, however, get a salary, while the members of the community are considered partners, without getting any other compensation except that which is based on the principle "to each according to his needs, and only to that extent." Moreover, in Colonel al-Qadhdhafi's doctrinal pronouncements the Koran is never mentioned. This absence of religious references in the management of public affairs, and the repudiation of personal property, have met with opposition from the ulemas, the "bourgeois"\* and Libyan property holders who complain that their president favors secularism and Marxism. In reality, Colonel al-Qadhdhafi is as opposed to Marxism as he is to capitalism: direct democracy is a return to a natural Bedouin ideal which is only suitable for a desert society. Islam still cleaves to the literal meaning of submission to the one and only God, but this God did not cease speaking with the Koran. His spirit breathes through the adaptations which world progress and scientific discoveries have made necessary, for "progress is not sin," as the "hypocrites"\*\* claim. Islam must continually undergo reform and revolution. It must penetrate to the spirit of the Koran in order to get beyond its circumstantial provisions and adapt the religion to modern necessities. Revolution can only come about in a religious context and for religious goals. Marxism, which rejects submission to God, which even goes so far as to set itself against religion as an

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\* The city-dweller, but also, in the Saharan sense, the "madani," the permanent dweller in the oasis, in contrast to the nomad or the seminomad.

\*\* It will be noted that Colonel al-Qadhdhafi uses that pejorative term from the Koran differently from the way it is used by Imam Khomeyni's partisans.



irrational observance, may inspire the prophet but does not have him in its power. In short, it would seem that a threefold complicity is developing. Al-Qadhdhafi makes use of a certain form of existing religious fundamentalism not only for propaganda purposes but also to destabilize sectors in which he hopes to implant an "Arab" socialism to which references in the Koran are sought in vain by the ulemas. As for the USSR, it is trying to exploit the destabilization, though Colonel al-Qadhdhafi condemns any form of modernist revolution which does not come from a religious mold.

While this movement on three different levels is affecting all the Saharan and Sahelian countries, it takes on a special character in Sudan, because of the strategic position this country occupies at the junction of the African and Asian Continents, on the border between a religion impregnated with Arabic culture and the religion practice by Muslim sects trying to hold on to the customs of black animism. The identity this country acquired from the colonial period engendered so many fissures that the young Sudanese state was only able to hold together at the cost of a long struggle against secessionism in the south and the periodic banning of political parties, which, with the exception of the Communist Party, have an ethnic or religious coloration which encourages centrifugal tendencies and makes it more difficult for the central authority to arbitrate differences.

In a previous column,\* we described Sudan as a state whose stability had been won at great cost and which was moreover situated in extremely unstable surroundings. The conclusions of that analysis are still valid. They were based on two facts. First, in order to maintain internal stability, Sudan is obliged to carry out an activist policy beyond its own borders, especially in Chad, where it supports Mr Hisssein Habre's opposition to the provisional government of Mr Goukouni Oueddei, who is under Libyan protection. Second, Sudan's overly close alliance with Egypt, fully justified in military terms, displeases both Saudi Arabia, which was always Sudan's principal financial support and which has been parsimonious with its aid in recent years, and also in ansars who within the Muslim world make Sudan quite different from Egypt. Most importantly, it displeases the animistic Christian peoples of the south, who are especially suspicious of economic and cultural influences coming from the north.

The death of President Anwar al-Sadat leaves Marshal Numayri's position further exposed, for, even more than the Egyptian leader, Numayri had long been the object of Libyan "solicitude." The attention appears to arise from two concerns: A spirit of mutual understanding among the Saharan states cannot conceivably arise without Sudanese acquiescence; and any effort to spread "Bedouin socialism" to the Bedouin states on the Arabian Peninsula would require Sudanese staging. It is obvious that Colonel al-Qadhdhafi's influence over Chad--an influence which is moreover challenged in the eastern part of the country, where the Northern Armed Forces (FAN) of Mr Habre appear, if not to be in control of the situation, at least are preventing the Libyans from controlling it--is even less to the liking of Khartoum because its government, by virtue of its adherence to the ideas that have isolated Egypt, found itself obliged to share in the criticism directed by the Arab world at Cairo's diplomacy. No relations with Libya; a distinct chill emanating from the so-called "progressive" Arab states; relative aloofness from

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\* Cf DEFENSE NATIONALE, May 1980.

Saudi Arabia, which has to be opposed to the Camp David policy and which has never fully appreciated the implications of increased Egyptian influence on the West Bank of the Red Sea; temporary impasse in the reconciliation with Ethiopia, as the result of the signing of a Soviet-supported accord between the two Yemens, Ethiopia and Libya, an accord which might seem aimed against Sudan, if the fickleness of its signatories were not such a permanent feature of their undertakings. Marshal Numayri in this area can hardly count on any support beyond the vague goodwill of Somalia, which shares Sudan's fears about Ethiopian policy, the pact with Egypt, and the benign friendship of Uganda. However, Mr Obote has too many problems in his own country to do anything but try to adopt a conciliatory stance toward most of his neighbors.

Thus, while the external situation is hardly promising, the domestic scene has been fraught with disappointments, not the least of which has been the difficulty of implementing the political, economic and administrative decentralization that was articulated in general terms in 1980. Another problem has been how to cope with some 500,000 Ugandans, Chadians and Ethiopians whose presence on Sudanese soil is a continuing threat to its security. Also, the government would like to extend the decentralization which it is undertaking in the north to the animistic Christian part of the country. The measures proposed will be the subject of a referendum limited to the southern peoples, and they may interpret the division of their territory into provinces aligned as to ethnic distribution as a scheme to weaken their resistance to Arab-Muslim penetration.

Is a Sudanese-Libyan conflict inevitable? The question is already overtaken by events, since that confrontation has already begun: on the one hand, with the aid Sudan is giving to the FAN, which is trying to operate in the eastern part of Chad, and with the reprisals their operations provoke Libyan airpower to make in Sudanese territory; and on the other hand, by virtue of the fact that the province of Darfour, adjacent to Chad, has provided the Sudanese Army with details which several times in the past have initiated attempted coups and behind which Khartoum has always professed to see the fine hand of Colonel al-Qadhdhafi. In its present form, the conflict does not pose serious international problems; if it became an open war, that would signify that "Arab socialism" felt itself strong enough to take on the rest of the Arab world, which would mean that, relying on Moscow's backing, it would have lost its specifically religious character.

9516

CSO: 4519/60

## INTER-ARAB AFFAIRS

### CONFERENCE ON EDUCATION IN MAGHREB PLANNED FOR SEPTEMBER 1982

Paris LE MONDE in French 18 Nov 81 p 6

[Article by LE MONDE correspondent Michel Deure: "Tunisia: The Next Meeting of 'Maghreb Encounters' Will Be Devoted to Education"]

[Text] Tunis--The Inter-Maghreb Committee, created last month at the time of study meetings held by the Tunisian Maghreb Encounters society, met at the beginning of November in Tunis and decided to organize a meeting in September 1982 on "Education in the Maghreb."

One of the goals of the Tunisians who founded Maghreb Encounters was to encourage the establishment of similar societies in the other Maghreb countries with a view to "reflection and dialogue encouraging the Maghreb ideal." The committee has just expressed the hope that between now and next year it will be possible to surmount the difficulties which initiatives like these are still running up against here and there.

The first study meetings on "Maghreb Prospects" had been a success. Beyond the debates engaged in following lectures concentrating particularly on the unity of the region's countries and their economic integration, the main interest lay in the fact that independent intellectuals, few of them close to the government of their country (Tunisia, Algeria, Morocco, and especially Libya), were having a meeting revolving around those themes. In addition, it was the first time since the revolution of 1 September 1969 that the Libyans, represented by Jamaa Fezani who is said to be close to Colonel Qadhafi, were implicitly recognizing "Maghreb reality" by their presence at such a meeting.

The various recommendations adopted were a good expression of the free ambiance of the discussions. Although from the start the Western Sahara affair had been considered taboo by common agreement, all other subjects, even if they could cause embarrassment for some group or other, were tackled with complete candor, whether this was out of respect for human rights and public freedoms, for trade union freedom, or also for the right to be different and to have specific political, economic, social and cultural characteristics. In this last area, the participants finally adopted a text, not without some reservation on the part of the Algerians and Libyans. The text referred to "linguistic specificities" and stated among other things, "This diversity, and particularly the Berber

reality, is, beyond the biased and reprehensible use which certain forces outside the region and hostile to Maghreb ideals could make of it, a source of enrichment for the Arab reference group which itself falls within the realm of Moslem identity." This is a position which will certainly not fail to be enlarged upon at the time of future study meetings on education.

9631

CSO: 4519/49

LIMITS OF OCCUPATION, STRENGTH OF RESISTANCE COMPARED

Zurich NEUE ZUERCHER ZEITUNG in German No 295, 20/21 Dec 81 p 5

[Article by H.G.: "Afghanistan After the Soviet Fall Offensive: Resistance Movements Continue to Be Active"]

[Text] Bagrami Front, December--If one wants to experience personally genuine adventurous stories about the Orient as told by Karl May, one will have to join Afghan partisans in their Russian-occupied homeland. Even now, following the conclusion of the second Soviet prewinter offensive, a comprehensive occupation is still out of the question: One can cross the Pakistani border and march, ride or, in some areas, even drive for days without seeing a single Red Army soldier or member of the communist government army. Except for the airspace, the "Schurewi"--as the Soviets are called in the Dari language of the Afghans--and Babrak Karmal's soldiers are controlling only approximately 16 military bases, for instance, Kabul, Jalalabad on the road to the Khyber Pass and Chagha-Saraj in the Kunar valley, which also leads to Pakistan. Even the road leading to the southwestern city of Kandahar is under constant attacks by freedom fighters and it is only relatively secured by stations in the Logar valley, the garrison of Ghazni and the outpost of Katawaz. But even between Kandahar and Herat, the Russians are in firm control only of Busj on the Helmand. Heavier concentrations of them can be found near the routes connecting Kabul and the Soviet Union in Laghman, Charikar, Baghlal, Wachan, Faizabad, Luqan and Qala-i-Naw, locations that are marked by fierce battles.

Guerrilla Battles in the Cities

During the battles that took place last fall, even these few positions were not secure; The rebels penetrated the interiors of the cities of Kabul, Kandahar and Herat, and they could be repelled only by the use of weapons that more or less violate international laws pertaining to war: the use of napalm in Bagrami, southeast of Kabul, the use on all fronts of mortar grenades filled with razor blades and nails and the dropping of mines which were disguised as toys; nobody, however, could personally verify these allegations. The same thing is true concerning the use of chemical warfare, primarily nerve gas. In a military hospital in Peshawar, however, the story surfaced of a Mufahed from the Kunar province who had died in the meantime from such poison. And at Muhammad Agha, near the Russian stronghold of Baraki, one can see the "cemetery of soldiers with open eyes" who had dropped their weapons and died of terrible cramps.



The conduct of Soviet soldiers toward the civilian population of Afghanistan was hasty and crude but without undue brutality, which could be observed while they were combing through an area north of Kulangar. On the other hand, Russian bombers and helicopters are engaged in ruthless reprisals, bombing civilian villages in the liberated area.

#### No Mercy for Prisoners

Generally, neither side is taking prisoners. Russians and communist Afghans shoot and kill seriously wounded Mujahedin; the partisans frequently are even crueler. If they want to be spared, deserters from the Soviet or Afghan-communist side must properly identify and prove themselves, they must bring weapons, information and other military advantages, or they must be useful for anti-Russian propaganda.

A relatively new development this fall are the activities of juvenile urban guerrillas. The contact with small fighting units of the Mujahedin takes place during the night, when private talks are conducted between the leaders of the southeast suburbs of the capital that are already under permanent partisan control. These young patriots of junior-high school age are behind the wave of kidnappings of Russian advisors, civilian experts, but also military personnel who are hidden in the Parwan and Bagrami mountains and offered as hostages for the release of national Afghan politicians.

#### Auxiliary Troops From South Yemen

In addition to the Red Army soldiers with their disproportionate share of non-Russian Asians, two brigades from the People's Democratic Republic of Yemen have apparently been used in Afghanistan since early summer. To see them in person, however, one would have to take the difficult path of the partisans, which requires 5 days of forced march from Taramangal--the final post in Pakistan--just to reach Kabul; to reach Herat would take at least four times as long.

But in every "samovar" (tea and shelter hut in the mountains) people were talking about the quick, little warriors from South Arabia. In the desert area near the Iranian border they try to prevent the entry of the Mujahedin who are operating from Mashhad and sometimes advance openly; now, however, most of the time they disguise themselves, mingling with animal transports. Although there was a lot of talk about the soldiers from Aden, there was even more discussion about the news that the contingents from the People's Democratic Republic of Yemen were accompanied by fiery-eyed "female attendants" to prevent any kind of fraternization with the population.

On the other hand, the military presence of Cubans in the Hindu Kush mountains may be a war story of the nightly teakettle. In many areas people insist that Cubans are present; when they are asked to give concrete information, however, they say that the "blacks" who were brought into the country as early as 1979 had mutinied when they discovered that there were no American enemies. In the war bulletin of the Harakat-Mujahedin, last mention of "Russian and Cuban forces" was on 25 August 1981 when tanks attacked the southern part of the province of Kabul.

Observations yielded the fact that Afghan government troops functioned only as auxiliary units to the Soviets during battle skirmishes; they did not carry heavy weapons. According to estimates based on ratios, indications are that the remainder of the army consists of no more than 20,000 men. Also, the membership lists of the "Harakat" freedom movement for the administrative center of Kabul-South contains many high officers from the army and the police as well as government officials as "counter-insurance." The notice to report for active duty which was issued by the High Command in Kabul during the fall offensive and which was addressed to those over 35 caused a new wave of refugees who were trying to reach Pakistan before the passes became impassable because of snow. As a result, the freedom movements--in spite of previous quarrels in Peshawar--issued a joint statement to the civilian population, asking them not to flee but to support the struggle of the Mujahedin on Afghan soil.

The "People's Militia," a civilian force which has been active since 1980, however, is penetrating far into the liberated territories. An exchange of fire with such an antipartisan group took place a 2-day march from the front in the valley of the Khurd-e-Kabul. In addition to compulsory recruitment--which does not exclude teenagers--extensive financial support as well as old and new feuds with the tribes of the Mujahedin are the motives for joining this "traitor formation." For the same reasons the communist spy system is still functioning pretty well over the entire Afghan territory, guiding air strikes, airborne operations and tank attacks. The informants of the Russians and Kabul communists are using radio communications equipment and the telephone system, which is still very much intact.

#### Uneven Weapon's Distribution

In addition to "inherited pieces" from earlier wars, the partisans are armed in this uneven battle on the ground and from the air with 5-round machine guns of Chinese origin, the so-called "Panch," with hand grenades, Kalaschnikow sub-machine guns, machine guns, bazookas, mortars, antitank mines. There is a total lack, however, of effective antiaircraft weapons or ammunition for captured Soviet artillery.

Since the disclosures by the assassinated Egyptian President Sadat, it is no longer a secret that Cairo is disposing of its old weapons arsenal from the East bloc by giving it to the Afghans, an operation financed by the United States. Convoys of container trucks, but also artistically painted native vehicles, are moving from Karachi to the distribution camps near the border. There Pakistan is no longer officially in charge but the Muslim organization Jamiat-Islami takes over. Nevertheless, according to available information, the leader of the distribution apparatus is a brother-in-law of Head of State Zia ul-Haq. The "Harakat," the Afghan Jamiat and the National Front are in agreement when they complain about the fact that the Hezbi-Islami of Gulbuddin Hekmatijar is receiving preferential treatment with respect to the distribution of weapons and ammunition. As a matter of fact, in the training and distribution camp of Alizai near Parachinar it was evident that following the arrival of the camions, the Hezbi were the first to be admitted, and they picked out the most and the best of the weapons, among them were even the newest Soviet submachine guns, the KMS-72 with removable metal shoulder supports. Then the Jamiat of Rabbani, the Harakat of Maulana Muhammad



Nabi Muhammadi, the Afghanistan National Liberation Front (ANLF) of "Hadhret" Mujahedi and, as the very last, the troops of Ahmad Gilani were permitted to get their share.

#### Re-Establishment of Soviet Positions

The freedom fighters transport or carry the weapons across the border themselves or they load them on mules and camels. In liberated areas, long-distance transports can be accomplished by hiding the weapons on trucks under wood or by placing them on captured Soviet vehicles. The Red Army, however, has been able to rebuild its border fortifications before the winter started--in early summer they had been cut off completely and could receive supplies only by air--temporarily close border crossings and, on some occasions, even undertake counterattacks across the border into the so-called "tribal territory" of the Northwest Frontier Province of Pakistan.

#### Broad Spectrum of Resistance

At the present time the following resistance organizations are operating from Pakistan: Hisbe-Islami I and II. Since the so-called Mosque Conference in Peshawar on 16 and 17 September they have re-established a loosely formed coalition; the Jamiat Islami; the Harakat-e-Inqilab-e-Islami Afghanistan; Gilani's National Front (NIFA) and the ANLF of the Mujahedi. According to available information, six fairly large fronts fighting in Afghanistan operate from Iranian territory. In Afghanistan proper, there are approximately 60 additional local partisan organizations, most of them are strictly of patriotic persuasion. With respect to the number of partisans, the Hizbe-Islami--the most active group in Pakistan and Iran--supplies sufficient arms for approximately 10,000 resistance fighters within Afghanistan. The Jamiat are involved in the joint partisan occupation of Kabul in the northwest and west sector, and they are fighting under a joint command with other movements in the Panjir and Logar valley. In Herat, however, they are not only battling Russians and South Yemeni but they are also involved in a bloody feud with the Harakat. The total strength should be no more than 8,000 men.

Among the various resistance movements, the "Harakat" has the largest number of "registered" members inside Afghanistan, approximately 50,000. But no more than 15,000 of this group are armed fighters, there are a few hundred urban guerrillas in Kabul, Kandahar and Herat respectively, the remainder consists of civilian aides, informants, messengers and sympathizers, among them there are many women and girls. As a contrast, the Nationalists command whole tribal units, primarily in the northeastern part of Nuristan; they are personally loyal to Ahmad Gilani. Smaller nationalistic troops--most of them supporters of former King Zahir Shah--are also fighting in the Logar and Panjir areas and as far away as Maimana on the Turkemenian border. Nevertheless, their total number probably does not exceed 5,000 men. As far as the ANLF is concerned, its impact as a fighting power is insignificant in spite of the high regard that is enjoyed by "Hadhret" Seghatullah Mujahedi as a religious leader of the entire resistance movement.

## Antiaircraft Weapons a Prerequisite for Success

Repeated discussions with insurgents in Afghanistan again and again yielded the opinion that whichever movement would be first to take total control in Kabul and subsequently be able to form a "free" government or at least lead such a government would be the one which is able to secure first antiaircraft missiles, because the decisive strength of the Soviets is based on their superiority in the air. Smaller liberation movements, most of which are dominated by intellectuals and which represent conservative to democratic-liberal views and which at the same time--in spite of statements by their mullahs asserting the opposite--are definitely pro-West, seem to fear a future exclusive government by the Hizbe-Islami, aware of the example in Iran. On the whole, these smaller groups reflect the political scene before the communist "Thaur" revolution of 1978. They are already claiming to have received offers of negotiation from the communist minority faction of the "Khalqis" for the formation of a "National Liberation Government" to drive out the Soviets and to prevent the succession of an Islamic-fundamentalist government in Afghanistan.

8991

CSO: 4620/14

# GREATER RESPONSIBILITIES PLANNED FOR DAIRA CHIEFS

Algiers EL MOUDJAHID in French 26 Nov 81 pp 1, 16

[Text] The intensification of the decentralization policy represented by the recent series of degrees broadening the prerogatives and responsibilities of the local communities at various levels has two primary aims: defining the jurisdiction and field of action of the commune and the wilaya, and defining how the two kinds of communities will carry out their actions.

The Council of Ministers also adopted, at its meeting of 15 November 1981, a decree setting out the prerogatives of the daira chief in all sectors of activity. This decree is a move toward giving the daira chief--as the representative of the wali at this administrative level--more responsibility in terms of political, administrative, economic, social and cultural activities.

The distinction between the decentralized and the delegated and of the commune and the wilaya cannot be grasped without taking into account the overlap between decentralization and delegation, on the one hand, and the complementarity of various kinds of local authority, on the other. For this reason the new decrees which have just strengthened their authority and spelled out their field of jurisdiction have to do with the commune and wilaya taken in the broadest possible sense, to include all their respective bodies.

The daira chief cooperates in the implementation of national policy on the local level, and in that capacity he is responsible for compliance with laws and regulations. The authority of the daira chief extends to various domains that are specified in the decree and broaden his jurisdiction as representative of the wali whose approval is required for actions that affect his territorial district.

In that regard, the daira chief by virtue of his powers acts as a relay between the president of the People's Communal Assembly [APC] and the wali. To enable him to perform this role, the text spells out the duties of the daira chief and gives him the means to take action under the authority of the wali who can authorize the chief to sign for him in authorizing financial transactions relating to operations, equipment and investment.

The daira chief has responsibilities in three areas: political-administrative, economic, and sociocultural.

The daira chief sees to the smooth running of all specifically urban operations, housing and zoning, supporting and stimulating all activities of local and national

utility. He also sees to the smooth execution of all local or national demonstrations and campaigns in the public interest, as well as supervising the holding of elections, supporting and stimulating all social, economic and cultural activity in the daira.

The daira chief is responsible for maintaining public order and safety of property and persons, with the help of the security forces.

In terms of administration, he is responsible for enforcement, application and consistency of regulation, as well as for inspecting the communes, to see that they are properly registering births, deaths and marriages. He is also in charge of the personnel who organize and carry out the census.

#### Broadening Means of Action

Beyond his mission of deciding, on behalf of the wali, on matters related to issuance of passports, national identity cards, hunting licenses, and professional certifications, the daira chief approves the deliberations and actions of the communes' APCs with fewer than 50,000 inhabitants that deal with any kind of personnel question, with the communal budget or its accounts and intercommunal syndicates, with the accounts and reports of intercommunal enterprises, with highway taxes and tolls, and more generally with taxes collected for the commune.

Thus, this broad definition of his prerogatives of oversight and decision-making encompasses among other things the intercommunal enterprises that enjoy financial autonomy.

Broadening the means of action gives the daira chief the tools to coordinate and oversee the execution of infrastructure projects built in the context of communal development plans. In this respect, it should be noted that in his capacity as a representative of higher authority the daira chief certifies receipts as well as expenditures, which he authorizes.

He also organizes the allocation of loan disbursements to the communes for the carrying out of their communal plans.

His prerogatives in this domain enable him to provide leadership to the APCs in realizing their infrastructure programs.

Along the same lines, it is to be noted that APC administrative matters are discussed, the last day of each month, in a meeting of APC presidents chaired by the daira chief.

With regard to planning, the daira chief is the designated recipient of all data to be used in elaborating national and local plans. In the context of the elaboration and execution of the national development plan, he coordinates the preparation of communal projects, gives his considered opinion on national programs affecting the daira, and sees to the proper implementation of the national development plan within his daira.

Still on the subject of economic matters, the daira leader is responsible for

stimulating and supporting any communal or intercommunal initiatives of an economic, social, or cultural character.

Finally, the text describing the prerogatives of the daira chief makes him responsible for coordinating the services carried out in the daira on the orders of the wilaya executive council, while it also gives him the authority to attend, in an advisory capacity, the meetings of the wilaya executive council, as it also allows the wali to delegate to him a part of the responsibilities for administration of the wilaya in his district.

9516

CSO: 4519/67

## BRIEFS

CUBAN CULTURE MINISTER VISITS--An important Cuban delegation headed by Mr Armando Har Davalos, member of the Politburo of the Cuban Communist Party and minister of culture, visited Algeria recently. The visit was accompanied by political talks with a delegation representing the FLN [National Liberation Front Party] headed by Mr Sliman Hoffman, member of the Central Committee and president of the committee on external affairs. The talks gave both sides an opportunity to learn more about the evolution of each other's country and party, and to exchange information on the situation prevailing in Africa, the Middle East and the Caribbean. The two delegations devoted considerable attention to the continually rising level of international tension, the redeployment of imperialist forces, the threats they are leveling against progressive regimes, and the pressures and schemes designed to destabilize them. In that regard, the FLN delegation stated that it was deeply concerned by the exacerbation of the situation in Central America and the Caribbean. It took the opportunity of reaffirming the solidarity of the Algerian people with the Cuban people, as well as the continued support of the Algerian Revolution for the Cuban Revolution in the latter's fight for freedom, peace and national development in accordance with its political and socioeconomic options. [Text] [Algiers EL MOUDJAHID in French 26 Nov 81 p 16] 9516

CSO: 4519/67



## RESULTS OF ECONOMIC LIBERALIZATION PROGRAM REVIEWED, DEBATED

## Changes Urged

Cairo AL-AHRAM in Arabic 27, 28, 29 Oct 81

[27 Oct 81 p 9]

[Article by Usama Saraya]

[Text] Liberalization is a major Egyptian economic issue. For 7 years it has been continuously presenting itself anew, and President Hueni Mubarak, in his first statement before the People's Assembly, laid stress on a number of focal points, most important of which was that the policy of economic liberalization would remain. He added that he would strive to support it, but he raised an important demand of the masses: the need for a shift from "consumer liberalization" to "productive liberalization." How can one do that? This is the question we are presenting for discussion with all specialists, and it is an invitation for a general discussion. At the outset, Dr Ahmad Jami', dean of the Faculty of Law at 'Ayn Shams University, raised two questions:

First, how can we arrive at a consolidated investment law, and second, has the current investment law achieved its goals or not?

Economic liberalization does not just mean Law 43 for 1974; rather, prior to that, there was the establishment of the parallel market for foreign currency in August 1973, which was then referred to as the accumulation of foreign currency in commercial banks as of 1 January 1979. In addition to that, economic liberalization included the facilitation of import operations as of 1973, when permission was granted to import without the requirement that import permits be obtained. Finally, economic liberalization included the Law on Transactions in Foreign Currency issued on 14 August 1976, liberating the bulk of such transactions from the restrictions of the system of oversight on currency which had been applied until then. In general, of the four abovementioned steps in economic liberalization, one can consider the Law on the Investment of Arab and Foreign Funds to be the most important single one. In this realm, general complaints have been made to the effect that liberalization has not been attained in the sense of production so much as in the sense of consumption, or even in the sense of importation, and we consider that liberalization has not been consumerist in terms of producing consumer goods of a level of quality that would enable them to substitute for imported consumer goods; had that been achieved, we would at least have been liberated from dependence on imported goods in some fields such as cigarettes, for instance.



However, economic liberalization has in reality been consumerist in another sense, which is the importation of fully manufactured consumer goods. Importation of some of these is desirable, but importation of most of them is not compatible with the current circumstances of development, and the truth is that after 7 years of economic liberalization policy, the investment law has not achieved the goal that had been hoped for from it, which is to prepare a suitable climate for Arab and foreign capital to come into Egypt, to offer appropriate incentives to encourage foreign investors in Egypt, and give priority to projects which will help increase the country's foreign currency revenues and support local production technology because of the sharp increase in imports and the fact that the deficit in the balance of payments has been greater than the increase in oil exports. One result of economic liberalization ought to have been the production of goods which could substitute for imports on the one hand and be exported on the other.

It is clear from the 1980-81 annual report on Egypt's foreign trade that the value of imports came to 4,103,000,000 pounds, while the value of exports came to 2,395,000,000 pounds. Of the latter, 549 million pounds came from oil. This means that the cover of imports by exports, including oil, was just 58.4 percent, an extremely small ratio, and if we do not take oil into account (on grounds that that is an exhaustible commodity that cannot be relied upon for a long period in the future), the ratio of the cover of imports by exports comes to no more than 20.1 percent, a ratio which in my opinion must be considered almost a disaster.

Should we continue along the same road, while fully asserting that the objective the investment law was aimed at has not been reached? The answer, of course, is no. What, then, is a logical conception of what can be done? As long as the goal is to encourage basic productive investment for the domestic economy, I consider that Law 43 for 1974 should be eliminated along with the stipulated benefits which this law has yielded - benefits which in the future will mostly not be for the foreign investment that comes to Egypt, although one should observe that more than half the foreign capital which has come into Egypt in the context of this law is Egyptian-owned.

One should determine these benefits for the specific aspects of productive activity the domestic economy needs, be this in the sphere of producing production goods or even in producing consumption goods which will replace imports or can be exported.

Here one must set forth clear, carefully-studied priorities for different aspects of this productive activity within an economic plan, in the scientific sense, because there has not been such a plan in Egypt since 1965. In another area one must eliminate customs evasion, especially in the city of Port Said, and an urgent objective study must be made of the status of Port Said as a free city. Such a study will conclude that it is necessary to eliminate the city of Port Said as a free zone and establish free zones, as the name itself indicates, in specific areas, not whole cities.

The Investment Law must be abrogated, in the sense that the benefits which have actually been set forth in regard to the companies founded in accordance with it should be abrogated. These benefits should be generalized and the criterion for granting them should not be the nationality of the capital (whether it is foreign or Egyptian) but rather the nature of the activity of the project, regardless of whether its proprietor is Egyptian or foreign. This means that we will thereby be broadening the scope of the application of the law and, more specifically, will turn it into a consolidated investment law.

The objective of the investment law was to increase the country's foreign currency revenues through projects. What has happened is that many of these projects have caused a drain of foreign currency revenues from the country, for example, through these companies' subscriptions for increases in capital in foreign currency purchased inside Egypt and through the transfer of the Egyptian pound profits some of these projects abroad by converting them into the foreign currency purchased domestically. This has increased the pressure on demand for the dollar and raised its price. This is one example of the fact that the law has not realized its objectives.

[28 Oct 81 p 9]

Article by Usama Saraya

Text In continuing the discourse on liberalization, Dr Mustafa al-Sa'id, secretary of the National Party's specialized councils and professor of economics, sets forth the positive features of liberalization and the need to perpetuate and strengthen it while eliminating the negative aspects that have befallen it, which he summarizes as three major features, in response to a specific question: how was liberalization deflected from its path and how did it become an "import liberalization" with the aid of imports not based on foreign currency conversion and an uncontrolled banking system trying to finance foreign trade through every means, devouring everything at any price, (through this liberalization importation has become easy and comfortable, ultimately, as a result, threatening current local production, having already stopped its anticipated growth)? How have we set about coping with the danger of the drain of our foreign currency revenues, which have increased as a result of oil, remittances from Egyptians abroad and tourism, and have gave out of the country instead of developing industry and agriculture? How have erroneous notions come to dominate the trend of industrial development, the Egyptian economy's only alternative to development, now that the limit of agricultural land has been reached? Finally, there is the discrepancy in incomes among the various groups of people working in the society -- the growth in incomes of people working in foreign trade, stagnation in the wages of people working in agriculture, and the drop and decline in the incomes of people working in the government and the public sector.

Dr Mustafa al-Said says that in spite of 7 and a half years of liberalization it still has supporters and opponents in our midst. A degree of lack of clarity and objectivity also distinguishes much of what has been written or spoken on liberalization. Liberalization some people interpret as the need to eliminate all forms of government guidance of the economy, and to return to the system of economic freedom which the capitalist countries themselves have transcended, while others, because of the extremist leftwing ideology they entertain, become agitated at the very mention of the word "liberalization" and can attack it only without "awareness" or "analysis."

The time has come to take a balanced, scientific, objective view on opening the file of and evaluating economic liberalization. There is no doubt that the first step in evaluating it will require that one become acquainted with the fundamental justifications for it, indeed the foundations of its legitimacy. There are numerous justifications for liberalization, but perhaps we may agree that the most important one is embodied in the need to provide further resources for investment and production and the increased national income and prosperity for society that that entails.

Dr Mustafa al-Sa'id adds, "We cannot hit upon any justification for liberalization beyond that, and this point can be deduced from the nature of the development of Egyptian society before the policy of liberalization was pursued, especially in the period between 1967 and 1973. The main characteristic of the preceding period was the severe drop in the rate of investment as a result of increased consumption, which came to 94 percent of national product, and the orientation of the bulk of savings and loans toward rearmament and reconstruction of the armed forces. The outcome of all that was that national income increased during this period only by low rates which were lower than the rate of population increase, with all the decline in the per capita standard of living that that entailed.

"The political leaders coped with that after the October 1973 war. It was necessary to save the Egyptian economy, but how could we do so while we were faced with a difficult situation embodied in the fact that the level of consumption was very high and consequently the level of local savings was very low, the budget deficit was large, totalling 25 percent of revenues, and the balance of payments deficit was rising to about \$2 billion? In such circumstances, saving the economy meant of necessity increasing the resources allocated to investment, but from what revenues? Local savings were paltry and financing through the budget deficit could not be resorted to because this source was used to finance consumption and current expenses and the use of it had gone beyond the bounds of prudence, so there was no room to use it further! Where then would investment come from? Liberalization was necessary. It was necessary that we invite Arab and foreign capital to take part and it was also necessary to encourage Arab and private capital to help build the nation and also guide the public sector. That was a point that we often ignored when talking about liberalization, and its aim is to make it possible to increase capabilities and attain further profits so that they can be reinvested."

So if we accept the premise that the basic point in the policy of liberalization is to encourage investment and increase production, judgement on it must be based on this angle. In evaluating the situation from this angle, the economic liberalization we started in 1974 has positive and negative features. We can say that the positive points of liberalization lie in:

The fact that it has actually succeeded in attracting further resources for investment and in increasing Egypt's foreign currency revenues, through remittances of Egyptians, oil, tourism and the Suez Canal. This has produced a rise in the rates of investment, which have reached 20 or 30 percent of national income, and the rate of income has risen to 9.18 percent, which is more than triple the rate in the 1967-73 period and also exceeds that for any period of modern Egyptian economic history. Increases in national income did not exceed 6.15 percent in the period 1960-65. This is a positive feature one cannot ignore. However, as Dr Mustafa al-Sa'id says, there are negative sides to liberalization which we can enumerate basically as three:

Increased inflation, because of the trend toward imports; as a result of this it is clear that that is occurring at the expense of current domestic product or the future growth of domestic product. That is, imports have started not to observe the priorities of the basic needs of society; Egypt's imports have risen at massive rates, in excess of 20 percent per year, and imports not based on currency transfers have been one reason for this. Also contributing to this trend has been the existence of an undisciplined banking system competing for the financing of foreign trade and



also the existence of the continuous increasing pressure of buying power and monetary demand in the Egyptian economy, so that importing has become an easy, profitable process, and importers have banks that given them credit as they wish, indeed encourage them to do so; a government that puts no restrictions on imports; and a market with buying power and increasing monetary demand that can buy and sell what it wants at any price. Thus liberalization has turned itself into more of an "import" liberalization than a productive one - indeed, imports have been oriented toward the destruction of production, since importing is more profitable than producing goods, not to mention the efforts, studies, bureaucratic measures, difficulties in creating competent labor and management, and so forth that production requires.

The second negative feature is a result of the trend in imports. For other reasons, we have discovered that foreign currency revenues, which have increased, have not been used to develop the commodity production sector in industry and agriculture; this has raised the threat of problems in the event there is a decline in the rate of increase of such sources as oil, remittances from Egyptians abroad, tourism and the Suez Canal, especially since our exports, aside from oil, are stagnant if not in decline. Incorrect unsound notions have also prevailed which have influenced interest in the development of industry, especially in the public sector, although Egypt is a country where the population is increasing while the agricultural area remains relatively fixed, and one of the main approaches to strengthening it is through industry.

The third negative aspect is connected to the distribution of income among the various classes of society. One can break Egyptian society down into three groups:

1. The group of people working in the commercial and private residential sector and professionals of various types.
2. The group of people working in the public and governmental sector.
3. The group of people working in the agricultural sector in the form of landowners, farmers and laborers. We can state, roughly, that the first group's proportionate share of income has greatly improved while the share of the third group, while not improving, has remained stable, and the second group, consisting of government and public sector employees, has faced a decline in income and a deterioration in the share of national income. These developments may be attributed to the policy of liberalization, which has led to the stimulation of trade and business and increased the demand for the services of professionals, especially with the migration of a large number of these professionals to Arab countries.

While we acknowledge that it is necessary to retain liberalization, with its positive features, we demand that the negative aspects be corrected lest they pose a threat to us. We need sound policies to be set forth to reduce the severity of these negative features. We must set forth economic policies that will transform liberalization from a process of importation to one of production in order to encourage local industrial and agricultural projects. In particular, we must concern ourselves with strengthening the agricultural processing sectors while encouraging exports of these two sectors' products so that they may in the future substitute for oil when the rate of oil production declines. We must take measures to cope with disruptions in income distribution by following economic methods, since economic tools are basic to achieving that.

## Labor, Liberal Parties Comments

Cairo AL-AHRAM in Arabic 29 Oct 81 p 9

/Article by Mahmud Mu'awwad/

/Text/ Concerning one of our most serious issues, which will leave its imprints on the future of prosperity and development in Egypt, a dialogue will now take place with the opposition view.

The question now is how can we achieve economic takeoff through a new liberalization policy which will result in raising the standard of living in Egypt?

Eng Ibrahim Shukri, chairman of the Labor Party, says "One of the dangers arising from the current liberalization policy has been the inundation of the market with luxury goods following the grant of total freedom to import all goods without meaningful restrictions. This has introduced new consumption patterns into Egyptian society and exposed a gap in buying power between a few people who are well disposed to luxuries and a majority who cannot buy /them/.

"In addition, it has become apparent that investors, in their investment projects, are interested only in realizing rapid profits and do not take basic projects into consideration that are necessary to support our industries and domestic economy -- which is the basic goal of liberalization.

"The current liberalization policy has also resulted in the establishment of token projects that might satisfy legal formalities though we are surprised to see buildings put up that contain offices dealing in real estate and other fields which yield no economic revenue. The free zones have also been turned into markets stocked with goods, some of which are smuggled in, and this is the opposite of the intended goal, which was to establish advanced industries."

The Labor Party chairman recommends that lists of projects the development plan requires be made, that economic feasibility studies be made on them, and that these studies be presented to investors, who will have the right to benefit from the advantages of the Investment Law if they agree to carry out projects in the context of our requirements. There is nothing against increasing benefits for certain projects that do not realize great profits but one must also suspend all benefits for some consumer projects, because while we do not want to suspend investment we must distinguish between projects the Egyptian people need and projects that are surplus to their needs. Sound planning is necessary if one is to protect domestic industries, results must be closely followed in sequence, and the bills and laws governing the liberalization policies must be amended.

Eng Muhammad Hasan Durrah, vice chairman of the Labor Party, says "How can we allow liberalization projects to import wholly manufactured goods that are similar to our own products, on the claim that consumers are receptive to these products, how can we favor wholly manufactured imported goods at the expense of the production components and raw materials required for domestic industry, and how we fail to distinguish between taxes imposed on the profits of commercial activities which are easily and quickly carried out and those imposed on the profits of productive projects which take longer time? Egypt, up to the early seventies, was, for example, exporting

cement, and not it is importing 50 percent of our requirements. We thought of erecting a plant only when it was too late. Rather than being oriented toward the construction of new towns and complexes, liberalization has been oriented toward the construction of high rise buildings to obtain quick earnings, violating the organization laws which fail to impose deterrent penalties."

The Labor Party vice chairman claimed that it was necessary to subject the public funds contributed to joint projects to Central Accounting Agency surveillance.

It is necessary to amend the codification of customs tariffs so that duties imposed on production components that are imported for local production will be lower than those imposed on wholly manufactured goods, while reducing and increasing tax categories on industrial profits.

Mr Mustafa Kamil Murad, chairman of the Liberal Party, says:

"The decisive criterion of investment is the value it adds to national income and the production and commodities bought in free currency which it saves. This in turn will have an effect on the balance of payments, in addition to the volume of production components used.

"The tendency to turn liberalization toward productivity prompts us to request the government to make a detailed accounting of the identity of productive and other projects and the type of project in which it is desired to encourage investment, because there is a clash in views among economists on this subject.

"The Investment Law clearly specifies the fields in which it is permissible to invest and this makes it mandatory that the projects be specified.

"The dialogue on liberalization must not cause us to lose sight of the government obstacles such as customs measures and tax matters which investment projects have suffered from after agreement was given to them by the Investment Authority, delaying their execution or causing them to be discarded. The Investment Authority's decrees are not carried out in many government bodies and it is therefore necessary that the authority's decrees be binding and that decrees which affect the economics of projects after construction on them has started not be issued. The prices of energy and electricity for investment projects have increased by 400 percent, since the price of a liter of diesel fuel has risen from 3 piasters to 90 milliemes, that is, increasing every year by 100 percent, but there has been no discrimination between the type of project, or the extent of energy costs in proportion to the final costs of the goods, and the Customs Department has failed to reach agreement with the Investment Authority on customs exemptions in the case of equipment in some projects, which makes it necessary that accurate criteria be set forth in order to protect the investments we are aiming at."

The Labor Party considers that investment should be given free rein in all areas stipulated in the Investment Law, on grounds that every project should receive special approval from the Investment Authority before it receives a permit.

11887

CSO: 4504/80

# GOVERNMENT ANNOUNCES NEW LAND RECLAMATION, INVESTMENT PLANS

Cairo AL-AHRAM in Arabic 8 Nov 81 p 8

[Article by Hasan 'Ashur: "Hasballah al-Kafrawi Announces That 25,000 Faddans Are To Be Newly Farmed by the Armed Forces in Al-Nubariyah"]

[Text] Eng Hasballah al-Kafrawi, minister of reconstruction and minister of state for housing and land reclamation, declared that it has been decided to allocate 25,000 faddans of desert land in the West al-Nubariyah area to the armed forces for reclamation, new farming and cultivation, with the goal of contributing to the attainment of the goals of self sufficiency in food.

It has been decided to begin carrying out a national adobe brick manufacturing plan aimed at increasing production to 5.4 billion bricks a year in 1986 in order to help solve the housing problem and to build 2,260 intermediate two- or three-room cooperative apartments with living rooms in the Governorate of al-Fayyum at a cost of 18 million pounds.

The minister said that the area that has been set aside is located in the al-Bustan area on the left bank of the al-Nubariyah Canal in the Governorate of al-Buhayrah and that agreement is to be reached on the precise boundaries of this area by the armed forces and the General Redevelopment and Agricultural Development Projects Authority. On the basis of this decision, the armed forces will be in charge of carrying out the work of reclaiming, newly planting and exploiting this area as its contribution to attaining the goals of self-sufficiency in food, and it will reach agreement with the Ministry of Irrigation on the means for irrigating this area by using the most modern developed international irrigation techniques.

The minister added that the ministry's plan includes increasing adobe brick production so that by 1986 that will reach 5.4 billion bricks of various types in existing and new public and private sector plants. This will include development of municipal kilns that use byproducts from the excavation and purging of canals and drains. The plan includes construction of new assembly lines with a productive capacity of 2 billion bricks and contracts are now being made to construct 27 clay brick production lines with a productive capacity of 1.43 billion bricks in the private and public sectors and six lines for light brick with a capacity of 51 million bricks.

In the field of foreign cooperation, a contract has been reached under the economic cooperation protocol with the government of Austria to construct a plant to produce building units with a capacity of about 15 million bricks. Contract has been reached



on the construction of a plant for clay brick and light marble in Wadi al-Natrum with a productive capacity of 100 million bricks. A factory is being built to produce light marble in Wadi al-Hayy with a capacity of 60,000 cubic meters per year along with a plant to manufacture 45 million (al-Baka) bricks. Construction is also underway on a clay brick plant in al-Tabin with a 200-million brick capacity and equipment has been imported and facilities have been made for a sand brick plant in al-Minya to produce 50 million bricks a year and import and install a production line for gypsum walls in al-'Amiriyah to produce 40 million bricks per year.

Eng 'Abd-al-Rahman Labib, chairman of the Construction and Housing Cooperative Authority, declared that agreement had been reached with the Governorate of al-Fayyum to construct 2,260 intermediate cooperative apartments whose costs will come to about 18 million pounds. These will comprise two rooms and a living room at costs of about 7,500 pounds or three rooms and a living room at costs of about 9,500 pounds; 20 percent of the deed price is to be paid in advance and the rest will be in installments over 25 years at annual interest of 3 percent. These will be distributed through the governorates in accordance with the priorities of the Cooperative Authority which favor newlyweds, people transferred to the governorates, people returning from abroad, administrative eviction cases and urgent cases.

11887

CSO: 4504/80

SUPPLY OF AGRICULTURAL MACHINERY EXAMINED

Casablanca LA VIE ECONOMIQUE in French 6 Nov 81 pp 1, 5

[Article: "The Supply of Agricultural Machinery Has Been Slowed Down By the Drought In Spite of the Benefits Granted to Farmers By the State"]

[Text] The drought, which has been disastrous for agriculture, livestock, and the country's economy in general, has also had quite noticeable repercussions on the agricultural machinery sector. Because of scant harvests and meager income, farmers, large or small, are not much inclined to provide themselves with equipment, to become mechanized, or to expand their investments.

Nevertheless, for the last 2 years the state has made a very special effort to encourage farmers to buy tractors and associated equipment with the obvious aim of achieving an increase in production and self-sufficiency within the next few years. That objective has been more specifically targeted for grains, imports of which are increasingly large and costly.

The fact remains that Morocco is underequipped in agricultural equipment terms since the statistics show that we have available approximately one tractor per 400 hectares while the necessary minimum should be one tractor per 100 hectares. The government aim is also to bring the number of vehicles from the current 22,000 tractors up to 70,000. This will be an initial stage: not enough, to be sure, but at least able to make a distinct improvement.

In order to reach this initial objective the people in the agricultural machinery business (Association for the Importation of Agricultural Machinery) and relevant government officials have increased the number of their contacts and working meetings during the last few months. These discussions, which were simultaneously concerned with the need to expand the number of vehicles, after-sales service and the manifold problems of the agricultural machinery area, came out with some concrete actions which would certainly have borne fruit if the drought had not thwarted those plans.

So in actual practice the central government decided as an initial measure to abolish the import tax on tractors as of 1 January 1981. This was already a reduction in the cost price and was reflected in sales.

Via a second measure the state implemented, as of August 1981, a decision made public in August 1980 in the Official Bulletin according to which it grants a subsidy of 10 percent to farmers to make purchase of tractors possible for them.

In order to facilitate operations and of course to increase sales an agreement was concluded between the government and importers. According to its terms the latter advance funds in the amount of the 10 percent rebate which are subsequently reimbursed to them by the state within 90 days.

However, the central government's determination to achieve a fleet of 70,000 tractors comes at a time of very unfavorable circumstances because of this bad climatic period which the entire sector hopes is temporary.

But the second difficulty to surmount, and a serious one, is that of help for financing. In theory, the Agricultural Savings Bank can guarantee long-term loans up to 70 percent of the value of the purchase at a fairly low interest rate of 8.5 percent annually.

In fact the circles of people involved feel that the Agricultural Savings Bank is behaving much more like a strict and rigid banker than a credit institution, anxious to participate in the national effort to provide equipment. Many say that "it would be a good idea for loan paperwork files to be simplified and conditions of access to credit to be less Draconian." These same circles say that "a tractor should be able to be sold like a car, with the same ease, since the lender can obtain the same guarantees." However, in numerous cases the Agricultural Savings Bank has been a restraint. Not only do potential purchasers complain about it, since they are not able to have access to a work tool which would enable them to expand their output, but also importers give assurance that if there were a little more understanding sales could be increased and could have favorable consequences not for commerce alone but also for the possible establishment of secondary industry.

The table gives an idea of the effects of the drought on the market these last 2 years.

	<u>1976</u>	<u>1977</u>	<u>1978</u>	<u>1979</u>	<u>1980</u>	<u>Estimate For 1981</u>
Wheel-type tractors	2,722	2,488	2,541	2,460	1,750	1,500
Tracked tractors	119	104	36	29	21	30
Combine harvesters	236	225	236	126	192	28
Pick-up balers	373	163	341	404	364	138

An examination of sales during the first months of the current year shows that the 10 percent subsidy granted by the state has had a favorable impact despite the climatic conditions which have still not improved.

Though the tractor is the basic element for mechanization, associated equipment must also be taken into consideration: harvesters, pick-ups, disc harrows, disc ploughs, cultivators, digging machines ["les chisels"], seeders, farm trailers, as well as associated machines which logically should supplement the equipment supply. However, while Morocco's inventory includes about one associated machine per tractor, in European countries there are three machines per tractor.

Besides, the small machines are in large part manufactured locally. However, the national industries which [word missing] consideration. Harvesters, just like other items which were counting on tractor assembly, are suffering greatly from "the difficulty of small-scale manufacture." Overall demand is much too small for profitable production lines to be set up except for disc-type implements. As long as the market has not reached sufficient size it will be preferable to resort to importing.

The people in the business say, "However, people in this business are very much handicapped by the price freeze. Faced with the risks we have, and with our obligations, for example the obligation to set up very extensive networks with many agents, and with the need to set up stocks of equipment and spare parts, it would be good to find greater understanding on the part of the government."

Thus importers explain that they are compelled to have a great number of representatives all over Morocco in the most out-of-the-way places for it is in such places where the arable land is. They have to have these representatives not so much for their sales but also for after-sales services.

Financing stocks is also a very heavy burden since the equipment manufactured in Europe is increasingly expensive. In addition, the prevailing idea in the Moroccan market is that there is an imperative need for sizable stocks. Farmers do not feel the need to buy until the moment when they have to make use of the purchase. That means that for the last 3 months of the year, the ploughing months, sales are as large if not larger than for the other 9 months combined. However, European or American manufacturing plants can only supply on the basis of schedules which are well established and spread out over more or less long periods of time. It is the same way for spare parts. Too often Moroccan farmers only service and repair their motor at the time it is to be used, which is to say at the start of fall. Therefore demand must be able to be met at that time.

Importers continue, "That is why we presently have 10 million dirhams worth of pick-up balers and 20 million dirhams worth of combine harvesters in stock. Also, during a period of inflation like the one currently being experienced by the industrialized world, we run up against serious problems regarding restocking and financing it. Manufacturing costs and expenses of bringing goods in, which are increasing very fast with a capital F, are compelling us to make frequent revisions of sales prices. However, these prices are submitted for government approval. If that approval comes quickly we can guarantee normal supply. In the opposite situation it is not possible for us to meet demand, as slight and reduced as it is."

Importers say, "That is one of the most worrying problems of our business," obviously wanting rapid solutions to be provided for it.

9631

CSO: 4519/49

REOPENING OF UNIVERSITIES MARKED BY UNREST

Paris LE MONDE in French 20 Nov 81 p 6

[Article by LE MONDE correspondent Roland Delcour: "The Reopening of Universities is Marked by Strong Unrest"]

[Text] Rabat--the reopening of universities in Rabat and the other large academic centers, particularly Fez and Casablanca, is being marked by a renewal of unrest unprecedented since last January. In the capital the approximately 55,000 students at nine faculties and professional colleges, including the faculties of law (17,000 students) and arts (12,000 students), and the Mohammedia engineering college, one of the most modern in Morocco, went on strike for 24 hours on Tuesday 17 November.

Another crisis has come to be added to the dormant crisis of the university so particularly noticeable in the capital. This other crisis is that of the National Union of Moroccan Students [UNEM]. In fact, the union's Executive Committee, which used to include 11 members, has been reduced to 5 since the 17th congress which met from 22 August to 5 September and which was marked by the exit of the student members of the Socialist Union of Popular Forces [USFP]. The Executive Committee now includes two members of the PPS [Party of Progress and Socialism] (a communist party), two from the Movement of 23 March which is to the left of the USFP<sup>1</sup>, and one representative of a minority faction of UNEM which is called the Martyrs' Group.<sup>2</sup>

The gist of what the representatives of the Executive Committee stated during a press conference is that the reopening of the universities in 1981 is being carried out in a situation of general crisis marked by repression which has followed the events of 20 June, the arrest of a number of activists of the socialist group of affiliated trade unions (CDT) [Democratic Labor Confederation] and the USFP, and then in September the arrest of Abderrahim Bouabid and several members of the Political Bureau of that party.<sup>3</sup> In the economic and social area, UNEM contrasts and uninterrupted rise in prices with the freezing of salaries and scholarships.

New difficulties have come to be added to the old problems (shortage of offices, shortage of instructors, shortage of places in university residence halls in which, according to the figures cited, 2000 additional places were offered between 1977 and 1979 at a time when the number of students rose by 12,000).



The first new difficulty, according to UNEM's representatives, is the appearance starting Monday 2 November of uniformed "watchmen" in Morocco's universities tasked with maintaining order. According to witnesses they carry out identity checks and even "beatings" of student members of corporate bodies, particularly in the arts and science faculties. The representatives of the students have asked their fellows to do everything to resist what they have called "provocations" and a "flagrant breach of the principle of the inviolability of university campuses."

Another new problem is that of expulsions and refusals to register students even if they have passed the baccalaureat. In particular, the Takkadoun higher teacher training school has been mentioned, because about 20 students have been expelled from it and 5 others assigned to jobs in distant localities though they had not even finished their studies. Accused of subversive activities, they went on a 24-hour hunger strike on Monday as a sign of protest.

At the Fez faculty of science the "watchmen" are also said to have provoked a number of incidents. The representatives of the students have affirmed that the authorities wanted to take advantage of UNEM's crisis in order to weaken it and to carry out their university reform plan providing for the establishment of 24 institutes or entities of higher learning spread out across Morocco. UNEM has rejected this plan and makes the accusation that the plan's intent is to break up the university.

The teachers who are members of the higher education trade union, SNE-Sup [National Union of Advanced Education Teachers] have themselves also demonstrated their opposition to the presence of the "watchmen" and were said to have made a statement along those lines public on Tuesday 17 November. The representatives of UNEM have affirmed that they were cooperating closely with SNE-Sup.

The members of the Executive Committee have asserted that UNEM is capable of surmounting the crisis it is going through and as proof of this they have made it known that their body has been given responsibility by consensus for the mission of preparing a special congress. Therefore the Executive Committee has convened a "coordination council" on Saturday 28 November in which all components of UNEM are invited to have themselves represented. In the meantime, the crisis of the organization does not seem to have weakened the resolve of the students to resist the latest initiatives of the government, in particular the resort to watchmen.

#### FOOTNOTES

1. So named in reference to the revolt of the secondary school students of Casablanca in 1965.
2. Mehdi Ben Barka and Omar Benjelloun, two assassinated socialist leaders.
3. It has also been learned that after the arrest of Mr Larbi (LE MONDE issue dated 15-16 November) two further USFP activists have been arrested, Ahmed Lamsih, professor and member of the Rabat section of the USFP, and Jamal Ghomari, member of the Socialist Youth Organization.

9631

CSO: 4519/49

KING REQUESTS AN OPPOSITION, CRITICIZES WITHDRAWN USFP

Paris LE MONDE in French 15-16 Nov 81 p 4

[Article by LE MONDE correspondent Roland Delcour: "The King Asks the Rally of Independents to Become a 'Constructive' Parliamentary Opposition"]

[Text] Rabat--On Thursday 12 November King Hassan II met in Fez with the entire group of the National Rally of Independents [RNI] loyal to Mr Osman which still includes about 70 deputies. He told them that he was entrusting them with the task of becoming His Majesty's opposition in Parliament for the 2 years of the current legislative term extended to 1983, an opposition which should be "constructive" and should above all be loyal to the monarchy. The RNI group has, in fact, not been represented in the Moroccan Government since the last reshuffle.

But on the same occasion the monarch delivered an indictment of the socialist opposition (USFP) [Socialist Union of Popular Forces] which withdrew from Parliament as a group to protest the extension of the current legislative term and has not returned except following the 3 October special session on the occasion of the Guelta-Zemmour post attack, besides which deputies appeared then individually.

From the attitude of the Socialists the king has drawn the conclusion that the Socialist opposition was not a simple Parliamentary opposition but was an opposition to the system of government and the monarchy.\* In fact, the monarch stated, obviously thinking of Mr Bouabid and the socialist opposition, "It is regrettable that in Morocco we weren't used to taking words seriously. When we hear the word opposition we automatically think of opposition to institutions which is not reasonable. In Europe and in all parliamentary systems of government, the system chosen by the state is never brought up for discussion. On the other hand, in Morocco we teach Moroccans that opposition consists of being against monarchy. Now then, the Moroccans have chosen a governmental system of constitutional monarchy. That being the case, it is intolerable for a group or individual in Parliament to be opposed to the system of government chosen by the country."

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\* On Friday 13 November it was further learned that a member of the USFP Administrative Committee, Mr Ajoul Larbi, had been arrested in Rabat.

The conclusion the king draws from this situation is, obviously, that this "bad opposition" must be replaced by a "good" one. The RNI's exit from the government provided the opportunity for that. It is this party, the main governmental grouping and whose only program was support for the king's acts, which will serve henceforth as His Majesty's opposition. The king in fact stated, "Hassanian democracy will not be complete and we will not be at ease until we have taught Moroccans how to carry out opposition to the king of Morocco's government. If we open the door to a constructive opposition, it is necessary for that opposition to show itself to be at the level of its responsibilities as of the first day."

The RNI group has even been called upon to form a sort of "shadow cabinet" in imitation of Great Britain. The first test for His Majesty's new opposition will be the critical examination of the budget, although the National Rally of Independents had been called on to prepare that budget when it was in the government.

Mr Oman, leader of the RSI group, has nonetheless assured the king that his party will not spare any effort in seeing this "serious and important mission with which it was tasked" through.

9631

CSO: 4519/49

CAREER OF NEW MINISTER OF INTERIOR TRACED

Aden AL-HARIS in Arabic No 86, Sep-Oct 81 p 7

[Article: "Comrade Col Muhammad 'Abdallah al-Batani in Lines"]

[Text] Comrade struggler Muhammad 'Abdallah al-Batani is a candidate member of the Yemen Socialist Party Central Committee and the PDRY minister of interior. He was born in 1946 in Mudiyah District, Abyan Governorate.

He received his elementary and preparatory school education [certificates]--old system--in Mudiyah and then taught in the same district from 1962 to 1967.

He was one of the first to join the Arab Nationalists Movement. Along with other comrades, he went on to join the National Front. In the Yemen Socialist Party special congress of October 1980, al-Batani was elected a candidate member of the Central Committee.

On 23 March 1967, he joined the popular police and graduated in the same year with the rank of second lieutenant.

He was appointed in charge of the Mudiyah Police and then in charge of Ahwar police. He was then appointed chief of staff of al-Sa'id police in Shabwah Governorate. He was later appointed chief of staff and then commander of the Abyan Governorate Police. Later, he became commander of the security police of the rural governorates, then commander of the armed police of the Ministry of Interior, then commander of the Hadramaut Governorate police, then head of the ministry's chief of staff section, then undersecretary of the ministry and then deputy minister of interior.

For one and a half years, he represented our country as ambassador and commissioner extraordinary in the Socialist Republic of Ethiopia. Upon his return from Ethiopia, he occupied the post of deputy minister of interior once again. In appreciation of his struggle role, his ceaseless efforts in the popular police, his capability and his practical experience, our party promoted him to the rank of colonel and he was then elected to succeed his comrade Brig Gen Salih Muslih to the post of minister of interior. Brig Gen Salih Muslih has been elected minister of defense.



Muhammad 'Abdallah al-Batani

8494

CSO: 4404/77



IMPROVEMENT IN STANDARD OF LIVING OF POLICE, MILITARY CITED

Aden AL-HARIS in Arabic No 86, Sep-Oct 81 pp 40-41

[Article by Maj Muhammad Sa'id Muqbil, Director of Political Department of Ministry of Interior: "Development of Standard of Living in Popular Police Establishment"]

[Text] Since the dawn of independence on 30 November 1967, our country has been experiencing a stifling financial crisis intentionally created by British colonialism and its agents. The purpose of causing this independent area remain in a state of imbalance that would harass management of the area's affairs by the authority in control of the society, and would ultimately force the area to again seek refuge in the bosom of the British colonialism, but in a manner and form that is much more serious than in the past.

Were it not for our people's vigilance, they [colonialism and its agents] would have realized what they wanted. Our people preferred to tighten their belts, despite the hardship of life at the time. But the people stood fast and endured the hardship and difficulty of life in order to live honorably. In 1968, the decision to reduce wages came to balance the decision to reduce housing rents. But that constituted no more than a sedative for the fragile conditions which our country had experienced under the canopy of the reactionary rightist rule.

With the glorious step of 22 June which corrected the course of our victorious revolution, our country began to proceed toward economic development by destroying the old economic forms and building new forms. This resulted in the revolutionary economic laws and regulations which defined clearly the course of our revolution and the development of our people. Our conditions under the financial crisis were not any better than the previous conditions. But our approach toward the crisis differed fundamentally from the previous approach. Our people charter out the right path to deal with the crisis economically and to develop our material and spiritual life. This approach found its reflection in the adoption of economic planning for the development of all sectors of our national economy.

If we examine chart 1 below and compare the lowest wages for 1966, 1967, 1968, 1972, 1976, 1977, 1978 and 1979 we would find a significant increase. We tell the misled that the days we lived under the rule of colonialism were not days of prosperity and days of improvement of our standard of living. These days which we live under the authority of the toilers and of their class allies and under the leadership of our Yemeni Socialist Party are days of prosperity and days of development. The evidence of this development is the following chart which demonstrates the comparative wages of the popular police in the period from 1967 to 1979:

Wage	1967	1972	1976	1977	1978	1979	1979-80
Minimum	16	16	13.6	18	19.5	23	30
Maximum	59	41.25	34.25	64	64	72	125

By analyzing the above chart, we find that:

1. The increase in the minimum wage of members of the popular police amounted to 87.5 percent in the years from 1967 to 1979.
2. The increase developing in the maximum wage of members of the popular police amounted to 111.8 percent in the years from 1967 to 1979.
3. The period from 1968 to 1972 is the period of the financial crisis experienced by our country. Our people were able to take a courageous stand toward this crisis in order to live in dignity.
4. The subsequent development undergone by our national economy from 1972 and until the present has been the result of our sound program on the path of non-capitalist development. Programmed development of all aspects of our economic and social life has resulted in a constant rise in the standard of living of the members of our society, and the police establishment is a representative group of this society.

In addition to the constant improvement of the salaries of the popular police members, there has been another development as a result of which the popular police members have obtained cash and benefits embodied in:

1. An improved standard of the daily meals provided to the members. The monthly food allotment per member was 4.5 dinars under the colonialist rule. It rose to 5 dinars in 1975 and is now 8 dinars monthly. This represents the cash food allowance. As for the allotment for the food itself, it has now amounted to 12 dinars monthly per member. This shows the party's and the state's interest in an important and essential issue, namely the issue of good food for policemen.
2. Free clothing for official work, in addition to the availability of other kinds of clothing, equipment and requirements in the soldier's shop for the members and for their families at low prices. These shops have been exerting constant efforts to secure these goods at prices compatible with the members' purchasing power.
3. Cafeteria services and food rations for the members and their families and numerous other facilities provided by the Social Affairs Fund.
4. The hardship and difficulty of life in the areas where members of the popular police and of the other police organizations work have been taken into consideration by our political leadership in the party and the state. Proper allowances have been allocated for those working in these areas. These allowances reflect equality between the civilian sector and the military sector insofar as commission allowances are concerned. This creates psychological stability for the military and encourages them to exert ceaseless efforts.

5. The issuance of law No 25 of 1979 concerning the service conditions and law No 8 of 1981 concerning pensions and compensation reflect the importance which our party and state attach to the military establishments. The service conditions law has been enacted to provide guarantees for the constant development of the living standard of the members through:

1. Promotions.
2. Educational opportunities and the consideration given to such opportunities in promotions.
3. Free medical care at home and abroad.
4. The service conditions.
5. The basic rights and duties of the members.

The new law No 8 of 1981 concerning pensions and compensations reflects the humanitarian concern and the attention and care given to the members after they reach the retirement age. It also reflects the direct care given to such members who have served in the popular police. The law also devotes special care to the heirs of a martyred or deceased member of the military. The law further embodies the Political Bureau's decision that the heirs of a martyred member of the military or of a member deceased while performing his duty receive an extra pension amounting to 100 percent of the member's salary. This provides a clear proof of the care given to the families of the martyrs who have irrigated our pure soil with their noble blood in defense of the revolution's gains and accomplishments.

The law also provides full care to the sons, daughters, brothers, sisters and parents of a martyred or deceased member of the military and of a deceased pensioner. The law seeks to secure their life as if their supporter were still alive until they reach working age (i.e. until after university education) or until they come to be supported by others by virtue of marriage. This in itself is one of the major gains realized for members of the popular police and of the other military establishments generally. The law also provides reassurance and security to the working members. This is in addition to the cash recompense paid to the family of a martyred or deceased member of the military to meet the expenses of burial and related expenses. This recompense amounts to 1,000 dinars for a deceased member and to 1,500 dinars for a martyred member. This equalizes the military sector with the civilian sector (the social security law).

Moreover, providing the opportunities of education to all the members and paying all their fees and the costs of their study requirements by the ministry also form one of the biggest gains. This is intended to link police work with the practical aspects on the one hand and to develop the awareness of the members on the other, and this in itself is a great gain.

The development in the living standard of members of the popular police, of the other military establishments and of all the other sectors of society is the result of the tangible development in our national economy. The development of this economy relies on methodical economic laws (scientific planning) and on the endeavor to build the material and technical base for moving to the stage of socialism; this is the demand of all of the country's toilers.

## PEOPLE'S DEMOCRATIC REPUBLIC OF YEMEN

### ARMY REBUILDING, MODERNIZATION EFFORTS REVIEWED

Aden AL-HARIS in Arabic No 86, Sep-Oct 81 pp 59-63

[Article by First Lt Sultan Ahmad 'Abdallah: "PDRY Army Between Yesterday and Today"]

[Text] The inherited old army was tantamount to a difficult problem, an unsurmountable obstacle and an unbearable burden to the revolutionary authority. It constituted a nightmare as of the first moment of independence, especially since the old army command and the reactionary rightist elements in the National Front had entered into an unholy alliance and since the two sides formed a military and political force to confront the progressive left in the National Front.

The first step taken by this force was to strike the national guard, which emerged after independence as a popular force comprised of members of the liberation army and of the fedayeen, in fear of this force which formed during the war of liberation against the Anglo-sultan rule a strong element in foiling colonialism's schemes and plots when Britain invited the army to take over power. The army refrained from doing so in the wake of a strong warning issued by the National Front in this regard.

The fourth congress was held in March 1968 in the city of Zanzibar, Abyan Governorate. In this congress, the conflict erupted and reached the stage of confrontation. The conflict erupted over the issue of rebuilding the army, purging and removing the reactionary commands, abolishing the tribal relations and privileges, replacing the old relations by new ones, promulgating new laws and turning the army into a popular base in which every citizen serves. The army had previously consisted exclusively of a class base formed of the members of tribes whose elders were loyal to the colonialist rule. The conflict was also over the issue of turning military service into an honor and a duty whereas this service had previously been just a profession sought by those looking for a livelihood. In other words, the conflict was over the issue of creating a new kind of army.

The old army was the creation and product of colonialism. It was designated to protect the interests and privileges of the ruling and exploitative class and to suppress the uprisings of the toiling masses. With the growth of the revolutionary feeling, the army's role in confronting the progressive trends, the revolutionary inclinations and the democratic tendencies was growing.

As a result of the awakened national revolutionary feeling and of the formation of the Yemeni national liberation movement in our country and by virtue of the rise of the great Socialist October revolution and of the Soviet Union's triumph over the



Nazi Germany, the British colonialism resorted to forming more effective local security forces on tribal bases to fight the revolutionary trends and to suppress the uprisings of the people's broad masses. The colonialists were eager not only to fragment the southern part [of Yemen] into a colony, eastern protectorates and western protectorates and the protectorates into sultanates, shaykhdoms, emirates and so forth but were also eager to fragment the security forces into the armed police, the British forces in Aden, the first guard and the second guard in the Protectorate of Western Aden and the Hadramaut desert army in the Protectorate of Eastern Aden. With the escalating and intensifying anti-British struggle which started with the presentation of appeals to the British high commissioner in Aden and then developed into strikes of a political character, the British colonialism reorganized the security forces merging the first guard and second guard of the Protectorate of Western Aden within an army called the army of the Federation of the Arab South in the wake of the creation of the federal union. According to this new administrative arrangement, the Hadramaut desert army of the Protectorate of Eastern Aden remained outside the army of the Federation of the Arab South.

When objective and intrinsic conditions for inception of the 14 October revolution became present, the revolution erupted on the peaks of Radfan mountains on 14 October 1963 under the leadership of the National Front and our people entered the phase of armed struggle against the colonialist rule to achieve freedom and independence.

From the first moment, the National Front understood the importance of the army. It thus exerted efforts to infiltrate and to attract the masses of the troops and the elements with revolutionary tendencies to the ranks of the anti Anglo-sultan revolution. The presence of elements of the National Front in the army and the public security forces had its decisive effect on fanning the flames of the revolution. When the armed struggle was at its peak, the National Front exerted efforts through its elements in the army and the general security forces to, first, neutralize the army and the general security forces and then to push a large part of these forces to act openly against the British colonialist presence. As a result of this, a military rebellion and uprising took place in a number of army barracks on 20 June. The army was attracted finally to the National Front when it declared its alignment with and support for the front at the beginning of November 1963.

After attaining our national independence on 30 November 1967, the army structure and its social character remained the same. This army continued to preserve its old social character and this put the question of the revolution's ability to realize its noble goals in the balance. This character was evident when the army staged the reactionary 20 March movement which came in reaction to the historic resolutions adopted by the fourth congress. The movement sought to obstruct those resolutions and to drag the revolution backward. Persisting in this course, the movement used the army against the 14 May 1968 uprising which reflected a revolutionary reaction to the reactionary 20 March movement.

#### Today's Army

On 22 June, the rightist current was toppled from power forever. Thus, broad spheres were opened before the revolution to march forward and the possibility of rebuilding the army emerged.



The brightest pages of the history of our people's and party's struggle are those pages that speak of the success of the National Front's leftist wing in wresting power away from the rightist wing through the 22 June 1969 corrective movement. The most magnificent accomplishment of our country's progressive regime is the creation of a new type of army--a people's army loyal to the people and the party.

The roots of the problem of the old army date back to the fourth congress, held in Zanzibar in March 1968, in which this problem emerged in a serious and sharp manner when the issue of rebuilding the army, of purging its command of the reactionary elements, of (changing) its class structure and of turning it from a classical feudal army into a people's army of a new type--proceeding on the basis of the fact that one of the characteristics of a national army is its active participation in the country's development and the fact that the revolution's character depends on the army's position--was raised.

The army occupies an important place in the state apparatus. For this particular reason, the left raised the issue of the military establishments as part of the comprehensive program it presented to the fourth congress. The left underlined the need to develop these establishments through purging them of the suspect, agent and reactionary elements, through torpedoing the old military systems and laws and the reactionary tribal relations dominating the military establishments and through subsequent new military laws and regulations acting to create revolutionary relations and traditions within the military establishments and to inject them with new revolutionary elements, especially elements tied fatefully to the revolution (quoted from an interview by AL-TALI-AH with the secretary general in 1974).

The fears of the National Front's left of the continuation of the old army were justifiable. Experience did prove the soundness of those fears. A real danger threatening the revolution did appear, especially since power was in the hands of the right which was supported by the clique of colonels controlling the army command and administration. The reactionary 20 March movement reflected this fact best. The movement was not destined to succeed because revolutionary inclinations and democratic tendencies had developed during the phase of armed struggle, thanks to the influence of the leftist elements over the troops, the petty officers and the noncommissioned officers.

The 22 June corrective movement created the right atmosphere and the fertile soil for implementing the resolutions of the fourth congress. With the presence of the right conditions, the rebuilding and modernization of the army was started on socialist-oriented bases and principles. Secretary General Comrade 'Ali Nasir Muhammad has said: "Since the 22 June movement and until now, the feudal and semi-feudal forces, the foreign monopolies and the compradorial groups tied to them have been wiped out and the army has been purged of the reserves of the neo-colonialism. The military establishments have become defensive people's establishments protecting the revolution's political, social and economic gains instead of being, as they had been before, instruments of suppression in the hands of the colonialists and of their reactionary agents against the country's workers and toilers." (From "Duties of Military and Political Leaderships of Armed Forces")

Thus, the 22 June movement constituted the start of the progress and development achieved by our country and of the fundamental revolutionary transformations realized at the various levels.

Realizing tangible progress in actual military life, introducing quantitative and qualitative development into the armed forces, creating a firm base for the country's defense capability and strengthening the security and defense agencies in order to protect the revolutionary gains and the progressive accomplishments relies on firm scientific bases. So, how has the army been rebuilt?

#### Principles on Which Process of Rebuilding Army Has Relied

To start with, it must be pointed out that the beginnings of the formation of a new type of army date back to the 1970's. The old army wasn't torpedoed [dismantled] until 22 June 1969. What is more, the clique of colonels even refused to allow members of the liberation army and the fedayeen to join the military service. "After independence, the reactionary rightist commands of the army and of the security forces viewed the liberation army and the fedayeen suspiciously and hostilely, continued to refuse to let the liberation army and the fedayeen join the army and tried to sow sedition between them on the one hand and members of the [regular] army on the other by insinuating that the liberation army and the fedayeen would take the army's place." (Same previous source)

It is obvious from the above that the process of rebuilding the army and of forming a people's army started after the 22 June movement.

What are the fundamental principles on which the process of rebuilding the army has relied and how has this rebuilding been done?

In accordance with our socialist inclination, the military structure in our country is founded on the principles of the socialist armies. These are the principles, divided into three groups, on whose basis the socialist armies have been formed:

First group: The social principles.

Second group: The organizational principles.

Third group: The educational and training principles.

The first groups reflects the social relations, our country's system of government and the party's and revolution government's alert and purposeful efforts at the level of the military structure. This group also determines the army's social character, its social task and its bond with the people. The most important of these principles is the principle of the unity of the army and the people.

The second group includes the principles governing the distribution of cadres--leaderships--regulation of the performance of military service and the means and methods of combat. This group also includes the principle of centralism which is considered of utmost importance. It is a principle whereby the army branches--the infantry forces, the naval forces, the air force and the air defense forces--follow the single supreme general command "strictly" and completely and whereby the lower commands adhere to carrying out all the orders, instructions and decisions coming from the higher commands without any conditions or arguments. Moreover, the lower commands submit to the single supreme general command reports on the activities of the forces, on the political situation, the morale, the combat capability and the equipment of the forces. Another principle considered a most important principle

is that of individual responsibility--singularity of command. This principle gives the commander of a unit concerned the power to make the decision under combat conditions on the basis of the fact that a military situation is a dynamic and quick-changing situation.

Third group: This group includes the principles of education and training. These principles make it conditional that education be combined with training because education and training exist in a firm and unbreakable relationship and because training cannot be given without education and vice versa. Educational political action also plays a major role in creating the qualities of manliness, courage, daring and the spirit of initiative.

The glorious 22 June movement constituted a complete victory over the rightist forces that had controlled the helm of government and that had tried to use the power against our people's aspirations for building the new Yemeni society which is free of fear, persecution and man's exploitation of his fellow man. With the triumph of the 22 June movement, the right conditions were created for building a modern and organized army of a new kind. The creation of such an army had been on the mind of all the honorable strugglers of the National Front and had been the cornerstone of the National Front's policy in the sphere of defending the Yemeni revolution. This issue was one of the causes of the fundamental conflicts in the fourth congress between the leftist wing and the reactionary rightist wing. The issue of rebuilding the army gained utmost importance when the reactionary 20 March movement carried out by the right wing of the national front underlined the dangers engulfing the revolution. How has the army been rebuilt?

#### Tasks of PDRY Army

After regaining power from the rightist current, the general command of the National Front proceeded immediately to adopt a courageous resolution to rebuild the army on the basis of new principles.

The resolution included 3 main issues to realize the transformation of the army from a conventional feudalist army into a revolutionary people's army. The following mainstays represent the most important principles on whose bases rebuilding the army was begun:

First, purging the army and the other military establishments of the reactionary commands and elements, liquidating the tattered and outdated relations in the armed forces and abolishing the old laws and regulations and the tribal privileges and titles.

Second, modernizing the army, introducing new units, laying down new laws and regulations, establishing a principled relationship between the troops and the officers, supplying the army with weapons and military equipment and providing it with military and technical cadres.

Third, politicizing the army and defining its class identity--an identity on whose basis the army performs its social task.

These principles were carried out successfully and their implementation was of major historical importance and formed a step forward on the path of subjugating the military establishments to the leadership of our people's vanguard political administration, namely the National Front--the Yemeni Socialist Party.

The fifth congress was held under the canopy of new conditions and developments and adopted a resolution to strengthen the process of rebuilding the army and the other military establishments. To realize this, the following resolutions were taken as a basis for the military structure:

That the military establishments shall be under the control of the political leadership of the National Front's Political Organization and subject to its general program and resolutions.

That the military establishments shall align themselves with the workers and the peasants and that the sons of the toiling classes, especially of the workers and peasants, shall serve in these establishments.

That the members of these establishments shall be educated, that the source of their education shall be the progressive and socialist Arab Yemeni national culture, that all feudalist and bourgeois ideas shall be eliminated and that illiteracy shall be eliminated from among their ranks.

Efforts shall be exerted to develop the military establishments on scientific military bases.

The establishments shall participate in the production process connected with the development plans and shall merge and participate with the toiling classes in the initiatives to set up farms, to open roads, to drill wells and to build and construct.

These principles have become a source of the military structure in our country. The party's first congress reaffirmed these principles and made them clearer.

#### Tasks of Armed Forces

The Yemeni Socialist Party's program and our republic's constitution have defined the fundamental tasks of the armed forces. Chapter four of the constitution states the following:

Article 31: The armed forces, security forces and the general reserves shall protect the territories of the PDRY, including its territorial airspace and waters, its rights in the (free) economic zone and in the continental shelf and its people's democratic national accomplishments, from any aggression.

Article 33: The armed forces and the security forces shall participate very effectively in the production activity and in building the homeland. The state shall devote extreme attention to the political and military development of these forces.

The Yemeni Socialist Party's program states that the party proceeds in its policy toward the security and defense agencies and toward enhancing the country's defense capability on the basis of the scientific socialist statement that the strength of the revolution is not embodied in its ability to topple the power of the exploiters but in its ability to set up the revolutionary authority of the workers and toilers, its ability to defend the homeland and its gains and to foil the endeavors of the imperialist and reactionary forces that seek to regain the power of the exploiters and its ability to do all this in a decisive manner and at the right time through:



First, safeguarding the homeland and the sovereignty of the state and foiling all the attempts to undermine the national sovereignty.

Second, securing the land and naval borders and the country's airspace and defending every inch of its territories.

Third, defending the Yemeni people's revolutionary gains, protecting the social progress taking place in the country and struggling against internal and external enemies for the Yemeni people's aspirations and development.

Our forces are performing their duties firmly on the basis of these principles.

#### After All, 22nd Brigade Was Magnificent Start

The 22nd brigade was formed in 1970 as a nucleus for building a people's army of a new kind. In forming the brigade, consideration was given to making it an exemplary brigade so that its formation may constitute a pioneer experience to follow in rebuilding the inherited old units and in introducing new units. For this particular reason, the brigade included upon its foundation a large number of the members of the National Front, of the liberation army and of the fedayeen who had gained experience during the liberation war. As a sign of the National Front's interest in this experience, it put at the head of the brigade's political apparatus--the Organizational League--experienced, strong and firm partisan elements, such as Hadi Nasir Muhammad who now holds the position of secretary of the party organization in Shabwah Governorate, Luqman Baras, Muhammad Salih Shalab, Muhsin Surur 'Ali and Salih 'Abdallah Humaysh who was murdered treacherously in the military operations branch by some opportunistic leftist elements during the events of 25-26 June 1978.

The brigade was formed at a time when mercenary gangs and the remains of the counter revolution forces were wrecking havoc throughout the country. This is why the brigade was entrusted with the task of defending the safety of the republic's territories and the safety and lives of the citizens in (Tawr al-Bahah-al-Shughayb front. The brigade was under the command of Maj Salih Muslih Qasim at the time).

Even though the brigade had had no battle experience and even though its armament at the time was not up to the level of the requirements of the modern battle and despite the scarcity of the military and technical cadres, the brigade waged various battles against the mercenaries and the remnants of the counter revolution.

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EXPANSION OF WOMEN'S HIGHER EDUCATION OPPORTUNITIES REVIEWED

Jiddah AL-MADINAH in Arabic 13 Sep 81 pp 10-11

[Interview with Dr 'Abdallah al-'Ajlan, deputy general director of women's higher education affairs, by Musa'id ibn Sa'dun Abu Ghazi; "One of Most Important Goals of Plan Is Continued Expansion of Women's Colleges in Kingdom; In First Year of Development Plan, Three College To Open in Abha, Medina and Buraydah; Opening Higher Studies Section in Higher Institute in Riyadh and Another Section in College of Education in Mecca"]

[Text] Last week, we published in DHAT AL-KHIMAR Supplement a part of the interview conducted on the "Riyadh Symposium" program of the kingdom's radio with Dr 'Abdallah ibn Muhammad al-'Ajlan, deputy director general of women's higher education affairs, by the head of the Riyadh office of AL-MADINAH. Dr al-'Ajlan discussed women's education in the kingdom, especially in the sphere of higher studies. Because the interview was so comprehensive, it took two sessions on the radio. We are glad to publish here today other aspects with which the interview dealt:

[Question] The third development plan includes specific goals in the sphere of women's higher education. We hope you will be kind enough to shed light on these goals.

[Answer] I like in your question the words "specific goals." Goals must emanate from results and a goal must be defined in terms of time and a criterion. It is well-known that the duration of the plan has been set to cover the 5 years 1400-1405 of the Hegira. The general goal is the continued development of women's colleges in their capacity as colleges that provide the best education at a high level of efficiency.

The most important of these specific educational goals are:

Continued expansion of the women's colleges so that they can perform their role in meeting the needs of Saudi women for college education.

Increased areas of study and of suitable academic specializations.

Continued development of the teaching facilities of the colleges.

Providing female students with the opportunity to continue their higher education at home.

Implementing public research and service programs compatible with the role of the Saudi woman and Islamic activity programs and strengthening Islamic spirit and thought among the female students.

The most important other specific tasks are summed up as:

Constantly increasing the rate of Saudi female employees in the colleges' administrative and technical apparatus and raising these employees' level of performance.

Exerting the utmost efforts to increase the percentage of Saudi women in the teaching staff.

Increasing the number of Saudi female students to 10,000 by the end of the plan and increasing the number of female graduates.

#### Accomplishments of First Year of Plan

The most important accomplishments realized in 1400-1401 of the Hegira, or the first year of the plan, are:

Studies have been prepared and the necessary measures taken to open three new women's colleges in Abha, Buraydah and Medina, in addition to what is scheduled in the plan. A section for higher studies has been opened at the Higher Social Service Institute and another section at the College of Education in Mecca.

The extra-curricular activity plan covering cultural, social, artistic, specialized and health activities has been approved.

The percentage of Saudi female employees totals 35 percent of the total number of Saudi college women [as published].

Saudi female employees in colleges has reached 31 percent of all college employees.

The general percentage of Saudi employees and technicians totals 52 percent of the total number of employees in the [women's higher education] directorate and its branches.

The confirmed number of [college] female students reached 5,126 by the end of last year, or 1400-1401 of the Hegira.

Plans for building three university instruction buildings in Riyadh, Jiddah and al-Dammam have been approved.

[Question] What are the plan's estimates concerning the kingdom's needs for female labor in the coming years and how can this labor be secured?

### Total of 1,520 Women Graduates During Current Plan

[Answer] Estimates reflecting the kingdom's needs for female labor in the coming years of the plan fall under the jurisdiction of the Ministry of Planning. As a source of preparing qualified manpower, the kingdom's women's colleges are required to graduate 1,520 female students during the current development plan. Through the experience of the previous period of the 5-year plan, we expect the number of female graduates to total 2,000 by the end of the plan.

The means to realize these numbers is found in improving the quality of educational programs and in expanding and making them more effective. This is in addition to endeavors to reduce the number of truant students and of students who have to study for long years because of repeating. The colleges expect to increase their branches, especially in the centers of the kingdom's various provinces.

[Question] What is the social and economic yield of the Saudi woman's education and work?

### Teaching Women Seeks To Give Them Islamic Education

[Answer] Talk of the social and economic yield of educating women is pointless because no two people agree on the importance of the social and economic role of this education. Knowledge is light and life, and ignorance is darkness and death. To the Islamic world, our beloved kingdom is like the head and the heart to the body. Our Islamic nation is a nation with a message in life, with sublime social goals and with a major purpose. This message, with its goals and objectives, cannot produce its delectable fruits unless it is embodied in a clean Muslim society, in noble social dealings, in given patterns of conduct and in virtuous and effective ethics. Our nation's performance of this task in life cannot be realized by mere inheritance and affiliation but by being aware of this faith and its goals, by embodying it in knowledge and research and by being aware of the bright culture and history of this nation in its various epochs.

Moreover, teaching the Saudi woman is aimed at giving her a sound Islamic education so that she can perform her role in life and be a successful housewife, an ideal wife, a good mother, a specialized scientist and a capable educator who participates with her intellect, efforts and work in the scientific, educational, social, cultural and professional progress of Saudi society in a manner compatible with her nature.

Educating the Muslim individual in this country is at the same time one of the most important and serious duties. It is also one of the most important and effective means of promoting the various aspects of this nation's social life and one of the major instruments of preparing the youth to participate in building the virtuous social life, of dealing with the socioeducational problems in our rising society and of preparing the good female citizen who is capable of performing her social role of serving her family and country and of enhancing the various aspects of her nation's social life in light of the sound faith and of the correct principles of Islam.

Manpower is a nation's dearest and most precious resource. Providing this manpower with knowledge and expanding its awareness with genuine education and with

beneficial experiences produces a major economic yield embodied in this manpower's increased productivity, in its proper use of the modern means of civilization, be they in the home, at school, at the work site or in female society, and in its improved daily practices in various spheres.

Moreover, one of the goals of the women's colleges is to prepare the Saudi woman and to provide her with high scientific and educational qualifications in order to raise the standard of education in the kingdom and to meet the needs of the various stages of schooling for properly qualified female teachers so that they can enhance the educational and cultural process in this beloved kingdom and participate effectively in teaching and in educating in order to realize self-sufficiency for the kingdom in the sphere of female labor. It is well known that the kingdom at present imports thousands of female teachers from the fraternal Arab and Islamic countries to participate in the rapid development process being undergone by the country.

[Question] What are the limits covered by the women's education policy insofar as studies inside the kingdom or abroad are concerned and in what spheres of education have these limits been set?

#### Providing Opportunity of Higher Specializations for Outstanding Female Students

[Answer] The plan includes an important provision regarding women's education policy, namely, the provision to realize integration between the steps taken to develop women's colleges and the policies formulated to develop higher education generally. This is in addition to the limits mentioned in answer to the first question.

One of the general goals of the kingdom's educational policy and of its women's colleges is to provide the opportunity to our outstanding female students to specialize in various higher literary and scientific studies in a manner compatible with our society's requirements and our country's needs.

The general directorate for women's education has put this policy into practice and has sought to realize this goal within the limits of the resources available to it. In 3 years, the Riyadh Women's College will graduate the first class of women students specialized in various higher literary and scientific studies. Similar studies have been started at the Jiddah Women's college, at the Mecca Women's College and at the Higher Social Studies Institute. So these studies are now available to outstanding students in four university colleges that offer such studies in 6 literary branches and six scientific branches which altogether form the various sections of the colleges of education. More than 250 female students and full-time higher studies instructors are enrolled in these colleges. This figure will rise in the coming years and so will the number of colleges offering higher studies.

The directorate believes that it is wise to offer women's higher studies internally and to import prominent professors for the purpose, regardless of the cost. The directorate also believes that higher studies can thus be made available to women while keeping them away from the sources of temptation and the troubles of travel [abroad].

[Question] What opportunities are available to the Saudi woman for continuing her higher studies internally in Jiddah, Riyadh and Mecca?

[Answer] Opportunities are open to outstanding students in Riyadh and Jiddah in the following fields:

1. The Islamic studies section.
2. The Arab language section.
3. The English language section.
4. The history section.
5. The geography section.
6. The education section.
7. The mathematics section.
8. The physics section.
9. The chemistry section.
10. The zoology section.
11. The botany section.
12. The home economics section.

In Mecca, women's higher studies are confined to the Islamic studies section and the Arabic language section.

The Higher Social Service Institute offers higher studies in the following three branches:

1. The individual service section.
2. The group service section.
3. The society organization section.

Collectively, these sections include more than 250 female students, some of whom are in their freshman year, some in their (senior) year and some preparing for their doctorate.

Last year--the first year in which an M.A. degree was given--eight female students received M.A. degrees in various literary and scientific higher studies. This figure is expected to increase annually.

[Question] Are these colleges adequate to absorb the women students wishing to enroll in higher education or are there plans to set up new colleges?



[Answer] Even though the construction of women's college facilities has been delayed more than necessary because of planning and organizational issues and even though women's colleges are being currently set up in educational complexes built for general education, no female student has been turned down so far for lack of space in a college to which she has applied. Should such a phenomenon emerge in the future, it can be dealt with in more than one way, keeping in mind that this year's budget shows many good signs and includes generous sums for construction of the best type of university facilities. The directorate has begun to take practical measures to embody these projects in landmarks of women's education in the kingdom.

Moreover, there has been no complaint of any shortage in the teaching staffs of women's colleges despite the difficulty of recruiting such staffs. The directorate is exerting serious efforts to create skilled Saudi cadres capable of joining college teaching staffs.

The kingdom's female education policy proceeds in the direction of setting up university colleges in the kingdom's various provinces and middle-level [mutawassitah] colleges in the kingdom's major cities to make studies available to women in the provinces in which they live, to reduce migration for the purpose of studying and to reduce the pressure on those colleges in the major cities that have a high population density.

There is determination to expand by opening new colleges in the kingdom's various provinces and to open middle-level colleges in the major cities of each province. But this will be done gradually and in an organized manner that takes into consideration the available resources and emerging needs.

[Question] A higher committee has been formed to discuss women's role within the framework of the kingdom's manpower needs. What aspect of the manpower sphere do the committee's discussions deal with?

[Answer] The directorate heading the women's colleges is not represented in this committee and has not taken part in its activities. Therefore, this directorate does not know definitely with what sphere this committee's discussions deal. But it is believed that the committee discusses women's role in the social and economic sphere and in meeting the kingdom's needs for administrative, technical and teaching staffs in the various stages of female education and of women's college education, since the kingdom still relies in this regard on numerous contracts with foreigners.

[Question] The state, may God strengthen it, has been and is still laying down ceaselessly the foundations of learning and education. These aspirations are not alien to a major Muslim country that applies God's law to the education of men and women. Can you shed light on these great accomplishments and generous offerings and on their effect by virtue of your position? Moreover, what is required of the female student in return for these rich offerings and what are the country's needs for qualified women in the spheres of civil service?

[Answer] There is no doubt that the accomplishments are significant, the development rates are rapid and diverse, and the offerings are as generous as can be. It is enough to know that the growth rates in our approved budget for the

last 2 years, namely, the year 1400-1401 of the Hegira compared with 1399-1400 of the Hegira and the year 1401-1402 of the Hegira as compared to 1400-1401 of the Hegira, are as follows:

Serial Number		Rate of Growth in	
		1400-1401	1401-1402
1	Sections One, Two and Three	60%	63%
2	Section Four, Projects	133%	36%
3	Teaching Jobs	24%	26%
4	Administrative Jobs	12%	56%

Moreover, we and the other officials in charge of education have sublime instruction to bring education to every place and to every individual. The general directorate is implementing hundreds of general education projects. Three new colleges will be opened in Abha, Medina and al-Qusaym at the beginning of the academic year 1401-1402 of the Hegira. The sublime instructions require that university colleges be set up in all the major provinces and that middle-level colleges be set up in the other provinces.

Another indication of the interest in and the care given to education by that officials is the presence of a Standing Educational Policy Committee that provides constant support for forward movement in all spheres. You ask me about the effect of all of this and I say that the yield of education is often slow. But it is definite and has far-reaching effects on a nation's life. We have begun to feel this effect in the gradual replacement of contract workers by nationals in many of the important economic and service work spheres. Without education, these spheres would have continued to be confined to contract [foreign] workers. Furthermore, the rise in educational awareness and in an understanding of the importance of education among the common people is embodied in the strong demand for education and in the increasing number of female students entering women's general or higher education year after year. This demand embodies a very important point of transformation in our nation's life--a transformation through which, God willing, we will become a nation engaged in production, development, research and science and not an oil nation, as our enemies like to describe us. They want to tie the nation's life to oil and to say that were it not for oil, we would not have this prosperous life and that if oil were to dry up this prosperous life would disappear.

The female student is required to appreciate this offering, to approach her studies seriously and with interest, to be patient in learning and to understand the importance of this opportunity.

[Question] Is there a program for domestic and field trips so that the female student can become acquainted with the various parts of her country and polish her talents and reinforce them theoretically and practically?

**Trips Are Difficult Task Beset by Dangers**

[Answer] Most studies do not require scientific trips for field research. Should a branch of advanced studies require such trips, then we try to take them in the nearest location to where the female student studies. Our country is still new

to the field of scientific research. Therefore, there are no programs so far for female student trips going beyond the city in which the female student studies. On the other hand, the guardians of female students and the education officials at the directorate do not see a need for such trips and know that such trips are a difficult activity beset by dangers for men, not to mention women.

[Question] Some guardians wonder why the single uniform has been adopted for female students but not for teachers, especially since all study is in a conservative and closed atmosphere?

[Answer] The contracting committees seek to select the best female contract teachers who are aware of the conservative Islamic form of dress in the kingdom and who cling to it. This reflects essentially the virtuous morals, outlook and activities of the female teacher—morals and activities also reflected in the Islamic form of dress. We have succeeded to a large degree in this regard, considering that the contract teachers often come from nonconservative environments.

[Question] Some guardians ask why there is discrimination in medical care and wonder why the care given to foreign female students [al-darisat al-wafidat] is different from the care given to Saudi female students? Perhaps the saying that no effort is free of negative aspects applies in this regard.

#### We Haven't Heard Such Complaints

[Answer] We haven't heard any complaint of the sort in the women's colleges, neither from the students, from their guardians nor from college officials. What we know is that equal care is provided to all without discrimination. Should such discrimination materialize, God forbid, in the future, we will not condone or accept it and will exert efforts to eliminate it and root out its causes. All of the students are sisters in religion, colleagues in study and equal in their right to service. A doctor, and every official in his position of responsibility, must provide his charges with full, sincere and honest care in performance of the trust, in fulfillment of the duties of his task and in execution of his responsibility in an ideal manner. Many such rumors, which spring from numerous circles, need to be verified because the trouble with certain reports comes from those who circulate them.

[Question] The female deans of some colleges depend on their deputies to conduct tours of the various sections of a college while they stay in their offices when they are supposed to conduct the tours personally and not depend on their deputies. This is not to say that a deputy dean is inadequate, but it is required that the dean be active.

[Answer] The nature of the work in the women's colleges is that it is purely women's work. Men are not permitted to enter any women's college during work. So a person like me cannot state conclusively that such rumors are groundless. But it is well known to us that the deans of women's colleges are, without exception, serious and active. They are Saudis and they perform their work with a high level of efficiency. They carry out all that the work requires of them, whether what is required is performed in their offices or whether it calls for surprise visits and quick inspections as necessary.

In my work, it has not yet come to my attention that any of the women deans are as you have described them.

The top officials in our country are careful to make unannounced inspections and tours of all of the sectors that fall within their jurisdiction so as to check matters personally. Recently, we have distributed a comprehensive circular from his highness the deputy prime minister in this regard.

[Question] Guardians complain that no strict schedules are kept by the directorate drivers or the drivers of the colleges in bringing the female students back home. It is not a complaint in the strict sense but rather a reproach because much of the student's time is wasted and the student's family may be in need of this time.

[Answer] I accept your reproach with utter welcome. The system must be followed and those who are lax in this regard must be brought to account. But it would help to cite specific instances, mentioning the time and the person involved.

[Question] What is the degree of cooperation between the home and the college, especially since such cooperation is essential? On the other hand, have you thought of enlightening the parents, whether with pamphlets or symposiums, on the issue of high dowries?

[Answer] We are trying to do this because it would constitute a success for the cause of education. By such success, we can influence the Saudi home through symposiums, meetings and pamphlets to solve many issues, including that of high dowries and others. I believe that the serious and purposeful information programs implemented by the colleges help in this regard.

[Question] You may sense inaccuracies in the reports presented to you. Are investigations made immediately?

[Answer] There is a wise saying that the higher a report goes the farther from the truth it becomes. But with investigations, attention and personal control, mentioned in the answer to question 13, these reports will be closer to the truth. Caliph 'Umar ibn al-Khattab, may God be pleased with him, gives us the best example and model of personal control and checking.

[Question] The female teacher is a true mirror for the female student. Haven't you found that the failure of some teachers to wear the veil or that tolerance in this regard may influence the student in the strongest way?

[Answer] The influence of a foreigner coming from outside the country is not always confined to his contracted job. This foreigner comes along with his customs, traditions, ethics and behavior and interacts with the society, giving and taking. This is the nature of things and it cannot be stopped. However, we try to make what we give them, a giving inspired by our religion, the dominant element. I have already answered this question in detail in my answer to question 11.

[Question] The services of some colleges are not at a high standard, such as the cafeteria of the College of Literature. High quality is a must. Is any improvement expected?



[Answer] It seems to me that the cafeteria of the College of Literature has given you information that doesn't please you. I promise you that I will contact those in charge, check on the matter and make any necessary improvements.

[Question] I don't know what degree of activity exists in the colleges in the sphere of simple physical education and in the cultural field. However, I have learned that cultural activity is considered routine and that it is based on simple contests that are not up to the level of a college.

[Answer] The fact is that student activities in the women's colleges have assumed a new form in their diversity and volume. These activities take place within the framework of a comprehensive and complete plan. Some of the activities are cultural and others are social, physical and cooperative. They emphasize the various practical skills that a woman needs in her life. There are other types of useful activities that have produced good results, God be thanked. It is the intention to expand, care for and boost these activities because of the positive result they have had. The reports we have received call for optimism.

[Question] Some students still suffer from the late delivery mimeograph sheets for the lectures. Isn't there a solution to this problem, especially since the directorate's ambitions are too great to be obstructed by such an obstacle, which can easily be overcome?

[Answer] I agree with you that the mimeograph sheets must be delivered at the right time to be useful. I believe that the main reason for the delay lies in the constant change in contract teaching staff members. The instructors have been directed to exert efforts to supply these sheets early, especially since modern mimeograph machines have been supplied to the colleges.

[Question] When do you expect us to reach self-sufficiency in teachers and in other spheres? What are the incentives and benefits offered to female graduates?

[Answer] The phrase "self-sufficiency" is a beautiful phrase and we are moving forward in long strides to realize this, especially in the elementary and intermediate stages of education. However, self-sufficiency in higher education will take a long time. This doesn't bother us as long as educational planning is fully under our control.

As for the incentives offered to female college graduates, they are represented essentially by appointing them at grade seven whereas university graduates are appointed in administrative civil service jobs at grade six.

[Question] Do you think that the female student's circumstances and situation are fully integrated in every respect? If not, is the fault yours or the students?

[Answer] We always try to mold this atmosphere in every respect. Our female student is very fortunate when compared with her colleagues in the Arab and Islamic countries.

But the duration of the Saudi woman's college education is short and this must create conflicts with the environment for some students. However, this conflict



disappears rapidly and full adaptation takes place. This fact is indicated by the rising numbers of high school female graduates enrolling in colleges year after year.

Dr 'Abdallah ibn Muhammad al-'Ajlan in a Few Words:

1. He was born in 1355 of the Hegira in the village of al-Yarrah in al-Muhammad District.
2. He began his education in the village Koranic schools.
3. He received further education in study sessions held at mosques. After settling in Riyadh, he enrolled in regular school while receiving education at the mosque. When study sessions at the mosque of Shaykh Muhammad ibn Al al-Shaykh and his brothers, may God have mercy upon their souls, were transferred to Imam al-Da'wah Institute, he became affiliated with the institute since its inception.
4. He received his secondary school certificate from the Educational Institute in Riyadh.
5. He continued his studies at the Riyadh Shari'a College and then at the Higher Judiciary Institute and at the Shari'a College of al-Azhar.
6. He acquired a doctorate in principles of jurisprudence from al-Azhar University.
7. He is now the deputy director general of Women's Higher Education Affairs.
8. He started his working life as a teacher and then as an administrative civil servant and rose gradually to the post of deputy director general of women's education.
9. He has taken part in numerous conferences and symposiums held inside and outside the country on educational affairs.
10. He has participated modestly in some radio lectures, symposiums and talks. He is more strongly inclined toward general reading on the various branches of human knowledge than toward writing. He enjoys reading ancient literature.

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## SAUDIA ARABIA

### DEAN OF SCHOOL OF MEDICINE COMMENTS ON RESEARCH, PLANNED MEDICAL CITY

Jiddah AL-MADINAH in Arabic 14 Sep 81 p 5

[Interview with Dr Fu'ad Zahran, dean of School of Medicine and Medical Science of King 'Abd al-'Aziz University, by Husayn al-Zahrani: "Prince Fahd Medical Research Center To Be Opened Shortly; Prince Fahd Has Had Great Influence in Establishing Center; Saudi Capabilities Participate Effectively in Conducting Studies"]

[Text] Medical research is the basis for treating diseases generally. This research makes it possible to reach conclusions capable of leading to the discovery of diseases and the areas of their existence and, consequently, to the best means to fight them. Medical research concerned with general diseases passes through lengthy stages of application and field and laboratory study before reaching the desired results, the effects of which are reflected in generally improved medical services and medical care. On the basis of this logic, Prince Fahd Medical Research Center at King 'Abd al-'Aziz University in Jiddah has been established as the result of the efforts of officials who have expressed enthusiasm indicating their ability to shoulder and discharge responsibility in the best manner.

The center is expected to be opened officially in the near future. The following interview with Dr Fu'ad Zahran, dean of the School of Medicine and Medical Sciences of King 'Abd al-'Aziz University, highlights many tasks and responsibilities of the center and of the school generally. It also touches on the medical city scheduled to be built at the old airport.

#### School's Preparations

[Question] What were the issues discussed at the school's last meeting?

[Answer] The meeting is part of a series of continuous meetings that we have been holding to discuss the school's preparations to receive new students. During these meetings, school regulations are also studied to make them more flexible insofar as setting the number of students to be accepted by the school is concerned. Moreover, these meetings also deal with securing the resources needed for next year and review the school's academic curricula. In determining the number of students and the curricula, we naturally take into consideration the desires of many of the students enrolled in the school of medicine, provided that these

desires do not clash with the school's set goals, especially the goal of high-quality graduates. We are also eager to create for the students all the conditions conducive to continued study and learning. We have great hope that the students will understand the school's acceptance requirements and our special circumstances that may not permit us to accept this or that student because the ultimate goal is to harmonize the student's interest with the public interest.

#### Official Inauguration

[Question] We would like you to tell us about Prince Fahd Medical Research Center and when it will be opened?

[Answer] The fact is that His Highness Prince Fahd ibn 'Abd al-'Aziz has never hesitated to support this center and he has had the main influence in supporting the center financially and morally. We are now waiting for the right time to open the center officially. The truth is that what has delayed us is that some equipment has not been completely installed, including special equipment and research laboratories. Moreover, we are awaiting the outcome of some studies that we have been conducting for some time so that the center opening will coincide with the presence of numerous accomplishments in this regard and so that the center will not be opened simply as a building.

#### Experiments on Animals

[Question] Will there be other facilities, besides the center, in which to conduct experiments?

[Answer] Yes, there will be another building next to the center in which to conduct experiments on animals. There are many kinds of animals on which tests will be conducted in preparation for applying the conclusions to human beings. Naturally, we cannot begin the tests with human beings. By the way, there is great similarity between some animals and man insofar as physiological functions, or cells, are concerned.

#### Opening Arrangements

[Question] Are there special arrangements for opening the center?

[Answer] In this regard, the proper arrangements are being made currently to open the center. On the occasion, a symposium will be held focusing on blood research. His Highness Prince Fahd will honor the center opening ceremony. We hope that our research will serve all medical spheres.

#### Comprehensive Studies

[Question] What are the causes of blood diseases?

[Answer] In most cases, blood diseases are hereditary. A high degree of blood diseases exists in the kingdom. This is why we will focus on these diseases so as to reach conclusions on the best way to avoid them as much as possible. We hope, God willing, that we will overcome blood diseases in the kingdom before they are transmitted to children, because then they will pose major problems

and numerous dangers for us. Various types of apparatus are used to discover and diagnose these diseases with the aim of finding the true causes behind them. Naturally, this is done through numerous phases and by keeping statistics with the aim of reaching general, not individual, conclusions that contribute to pursuing and rooting out such diseases. The research we are conducting on blood diseases is a comprehensive research in which a number of British and U.S. specialists are participating, especially in the sphere of field surveys and exploration. It is expected that we will reach the desired results, God willing.

#### Numerous Studies

[Question] What about the school's current studies?

[Answer] The fact is that Prince Fahd Center is the first nucleus of specialized research. The school did conduct at an earlier time a number of studies that have produced very good results that have been presented to local and international conferences. These studies were conducted by Saudi members of the school's teaching faculty. This is a great honor for all of us. One of the studies we have conducted was on oral cancer, since this disease is widespread in the southern province. We have treated several cases of this disease and the results have been very gratifying. On this occasion, I would like to warn the public to avoid and to beware as much as possible of the causes of cancer so as to preserve health.

#### Medical City

[Question] How do you evaluate the medical services you offer to patients in light of the approval of establishment of the medical city?

[Answer] This is a very important issue. The approval given to the establishment of a medical city at the old Jiddah airport is a new boost for health care. This gives us a major role that we hope we will perform in the best manner to develop health care in the area and in the kingdom as a whole, in addition to serving medical studies, which is of major importance to us. Studies for the construction of this city are still underway. It is already known that approval has been given for construction of the city on the land of the old airport. The university is currently in the process of acquiring the land allocated for this city, which will include a medical center. His Royal Highness Prince Fahd ibn 'Abd al-'Aziz has issued instructions that the land be set aside for the city. I would like to note here this noble gesture by His Highness Prince Fahd and the role of His Royal Highness Prince Sultan ibn 'Abd al-'Aziz, the minister of defense and aviation and the inspector general, who has participated effectively in setting this land aside for the medical center. I must also not forget to note the role of His Excellency Engineer Muhammad Sa'id Farisi, mayor of Jiddah, in this regard. The center will include a university hospital, a school of medicine, a school of dentistry, a school of nursing, a research center, a school of medical technology and a school of preventive medicine, or social medicine.

#### Expanding University Hospital

[Question] What are the new developments expected by the university hospital?

[Answer] The university hospital offers medical service and care to patients. It is our hope that it will be expanded in the near future to perform the role

required of it until the medical center scheduled to be built is completed so that we can offer better medical service in the field of health care. The university hospital is now considered a temporary hospital. However, it still offers good-quality services despite its small size. There are major plans to enlarge this hospital. The state will support us strongly in this regard so as to improve medical services and care and medical instruction when the hospital and the clinics are expanded. This expansion will take nearly 6 months.

School and Ministry of Health

[Question] What about cooperation with the Ministry of Health?

[Answer] God willing, we will cooperate with the ministry by participating in the new Jiddah hospital to improve medical care and medical instruction. A meeting was held recently with Dr Husayn al-Jaza'iri, the minister of health, on this issue to reach a sound solution for participation in the hospital. We are prepared to participate in the hospital by providing specialized doctors and taking part in the hospital's Board of Directors.

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## SAUDI ARABIA

### UNIVERSITY INTRODUCES NEW SYSTEM FOR CORRESPONDENCE STUDENTS

Jiddah AL-MADINAH in Arabic 22 Sep 81 p 5

[Interview with Dr Muhammad 'Ali Qattan, dean of correspondence-student affairs at King 'Abd al-'Aziz University, by Sa'ud al-Jahni; "Developing Kingdom's Correspondence System Is Ambitious Step Compatible With Country's Development Plans; We Have Begun Experiment and Expect 90 Percent Success for It"]

[Text] King 'Abd al-'Aziz University is interested in the affairs of correspondence students [al-muntasibun] and offers specialized studies and professional training for those whose circumstances do not enable them to devote full time to regular university education.

Proceeding on the basis of the principle of participation in serving the society, the university opened its doors as of 1393-94 of the Hegira to correspondence students to enroll in the public administration, sociology, history and English language sections. On the basis of its experience, the university has deemed it necessary to develop the system of study by correspondence and to gear it in a direction that serves the development plans. The university established an office of correspondence-student affairs in 1400-1401 of the Hegira as an ambitious step toward major programs that the university intends to implement. On this experiment, AL-MADINAH has had the following interview with Dr Muhammad 'Ali Qattan, dean of correspondence-student affairs at King 'Abd al-'Aziz University in Jiddah:

#### Equating Correspondence Student With Regular Student

[Question] We would like to talk about the correspondence system being implemented this year.

[Answer] The fact is that the correspondence system has developed greatly as a result of the interest of the university's Higher Council. The previous system covered some branches of the colleges and was implemented in a conventional manner from which the student did not benefit. Then matters developed to the point where an independent general department was established to take care of correspondence-student affairs. Last year, the university's Higher Council agreed to establish the post of dean for correspondence-student affairs to enhance the level of education and to insure that the correspondence student benefits from this education and becomes equal to the regular student, whereas the old system discriminated strongly between the correspondence student and the regular student

in the quality of education given and learning acquired. This caused some correspondence students not to concentrate on their studies and to try to pass in one way or another in the absence of any set criteria for success.

#### Attendance and Learning

The new system puts emphasis on improving the level of learning among correspondence students and on the need for these students to have contact with the regular students and with the faculty members through compulsory courses of no less than 6 weeks per year to be attended by the correspondence student. During these courses, the student is given lectures covering the most important subjects. This means that the student will attend weekly no less than 25 hours for each subject studied, i.e., he will attend one-half the total [class] hours attended by a regular student. This new system has been adopted after studies with several international universities that now apply it, introducing a semiofficial system of attendance hours. Twenty percent of the student's grade is accounted for in the compulsory attendance. There are also (periodic) examinations to insure that the student keeps up with his studies and 20 percent of the grade is also accounted for in these examinations. Sixty percent of the grade comes from the final examination. Naturally, this system keeps the student better informed and makes him keep up with his studies, contrary to the old system which alienated the correspondence student from his reading and his studies till very shortly before the final examination.

#### Two Thousand Applicants

Acceptance started as of Saturday, the 7th of Dhu al-Qi'dah, and ended by the weekend. So far, 2,000 students have applied. An examination will be given and 50 percent of the applicants will be accepted in the university's various sections. We will know the exact figure after counting the number of regular students at the university. The applications of the students who have applied this year, have been examined and have passed the examination successfully but have not had the opportunity to enroll will be kept till the next academic year and the students will be exempted from the entrance test. Several conditions were laid down this year [for accepting correspondence students], including the condition that the student earn 80 percent in the secondary school certificate or its equivalent.

#### Limited Resources

[Question] How are applicants with a grade of less than 80 percent treated this year?

[Answer] The correspondence department council expected large numbers this year and so laid down this percentage. The correspondence department resources do not make it possible to accept very large numbers. Our position still needs to be bolstered financially, administratively and in other respects. We can currently accept 1,000 students. There is no possibility of accepting large numbers because of the lack of classrooms. Resources are needed to serve the correspondence students.

The university cannot go beyond the steps set for it in the budget. Consideration will be given in the next plan to increasing the classrooms and to providing the

opportunity to all correspondence students. This experiment has been applied this year and we will continue it and will try to correct it and to benefit from our mistakes in the future. As I have already pointed out, this system was applied after studies had been conducted with a number of universities. God willing, the system will realize 90 percent success and will be applied in stages until it becomes a regular system relying fundamentally on [class] attendance.

[Question] What is the position of the dean of correspondence students vis-a-vis favoritism, especially since most of the applicants do not meet the requirements laid down by the office of the dean of correspondence students?

[Answer] In the old system, acceptance was on the basis of geographic distribution, and a certain number was allocated for each province. This year, we have set a percentage [for each province], with the stipulation that the applicant pass the standard test that determines the level of the applicant's education. This test is tantamount to a general education test--an education that every student must possess. This method encourages the student to familiarize himself with various cultural, social and Islamic elements. The method also makes it possible to determine the general standard of education. After enrollment, the student will be required to submit a certain kind of research paper, called "professional specialization" paper, in (his junior year). For the information of this year's applicants for correspondence courses: The acceptance examination will be held at 1900 on Saturday, 21/11/1401 of the Hegira, at building No 4, next to the Economy and Management Building.

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SAUDI ARABIA

TEXTS OF KING KHALID, PRINCE FAHD SPEECHES MARKING NATIONAL ANNIVERSARY

Jiddah AL-MADINAH in Arabic 23 Sep 81 p 1

[Text of speeches by King Khalid ibn 'Abd al-'Aziz and Crown Prince Fahd ibn 'Abd al-'Aziz on National Day: "King Khalid ibn 'Abd al-'Aziz: Unification of Kingdom Is Prominent Turning Point in Area's History; 'Abd al-'Aziz Restored to Islam Its Reverence and Its Status; We Are Safe Because We Cling to God's Book' Leader and Founder Laid Down Foundations of State From Which His People and Arab and Islamic Nation Have Benefited:

[Text] Fahd ibn 'Abd al-'Aziz: Arab Solidarity Is Trust We Have Never Stopped Shouldering and Defending; Our National Entity Has Been and Will Continue To Be Founded on Adherence to Application of Shari'a; Our Responsibility and Our Duty Toward Our Country Are Big and Continuous; We Reject Axes and Foreign Alliances and Our Rejection Is Ideal Method to Confront Enemy; What Is Happening Now Is Open Challenge to Our Arab and Islamic Will and Attempt to Impose Foreign Concepts; Challenges Facing Muslims Everywhere Strengthen Our Profound Faith in Islamic Solidarity"

The king, government and people of the Kingdom of Saudi Arabia, and with them the Arab, Muslim and friendly peoples, countries and governments and various other countries, today celebrate the 50th anniversary of the founding of the kingdom.

On this day 50 years ago, the late King, 'Abd al-'Aziz, the hawk and unifier of Saudi Arabia, fulfilled a promise he had made before God, before his father and before history to lay the firm foundations for the edifice of our beloved kingdom, which has now become a modern state combining genuineness with openness, a state that occupies a high place among the major economic powers and plays a definite and decisive role in dealing with international political issues, especially Arab and Islamic issues, and in offering wise and suitable solutions to the tense problems of today's world, the latest such solution being the Saudi initiative proposed by His Highness Prince Fahd ibn 'Abd al-'Aziz.

The numerous and various accomplishments that have extended into and included all the social, cultural, religious and other fields of life, that dazzle the visitor and evoke pride and joy in our bright present that is tied to our glorious past and our promising and prosperous future--these accomplishments

underline beyond any doubt a ceaseless and mature continuity that is aware of the responsibility entrusted to it. The sons of 'Abd al-'Aziz have been careful to strengthen and entrench this continuity in the light of the broad lines that 'Abd al-'Aziz drew up and in the light of the orthodox Muslim religion.

On the occasion of the kingdom's national day, His Majesty King Khalid ibn 'Abd al-'Aziz has delivered this exalted address to the sons of his loyal people:

"In the name of God, the merciful and the compassionate, peace and prayers be upon the noblest of prophets and messengers, our master Muhammad, and upon all his kinsmen and his companions:

"Dear brothers, sons of the Kingdom of Saudi Arabia:

"Today, a memory dear to our hearts and ingrained in our minds and a memory defining the most outstanding features of our modern history comes to us. The great work carried out by the late King 'Abd al-'Aziz, the leader and the founder, has influenced and affected the course of our renaissance and the country's continued adherence to the goals of the orthodox religion and to the application of the tolerant law of this religion. Thanks be to God, we have achieved security, and the paths of prosperity and of honorable life have been opened to all. The national day of the Kingdom of Saudi Arabia is a symbol of the unity of the ranks under the immortal banner of "there is no god but God and Muhammad is His prophet." On this day, the country regained its impregnability, its dignity, its security and its stability, relying on God's venerable book and on the pure Shari'ah of God's prophet, which have been and which continue to be the sole source of legislation for all of our affairs.

"God, may He be praised, blessed King 'Abd al-'Aziz with faith, foresight and strong will, which together formed firm foundations through which he was able, with God's help, to establish this great entity, to bring to it a degree of security that is difficult for others to attain and to realize for his people the highest standards of stable and prosperous life, so much so that our country has become an example of impregnability, dignity, progress and prosperity. With the strength of faith and with the resolution of men, the late King 'Abd al-'Aziz realized for his people and his nation the high place among nations for which his people and his nation had aspired.

"Fifty years ago, his majesty restored to Islam its reverence and its status and adhered to religion in the service of the interest of his nation and of the entire Islamic nation.

"Dear brothers,

"Those who wonder about the causes of the dignity, impregnability, security and stability distinguishing our beloved country can find the answer in our firm adherence to God's law and our application of this law through God's preserved book and through the Sunna of His prophet, may God's peace and prayers be upon him. These are the foundations and the criteria through which 'Abd al-'Aziz formulated the country's future. They are the same foundations and criteria upon which we proceed at present because they have in them salvation, goodness, strength and prosperity.



"The credit for the security and reassurance under which we live goes to God Who has blessed this country with abundant resources for its people and for the Islamic nation throughout the world.

"On the occasion of the Kingdom of Saudi Arabia's national day this year, we are reaping many of the fruits of the development that started with the era of the late King 'Abd al-'Aziz while preparing with faith and work to embark on the phases of future development that bear within their folds all abundance and prosperity for the sons of our loyal people. We pose the Saudi man as the goal and objective of all our efforts. At the various living, health, social, economic and cultural levels, we work within a single framework to which there is no alternative, namely, God's law--this immortal pattern that must prevail in the Islamic nation so that it can face the many challenges of the times.

"Dear brothers, sons of the Kingdom of Saudi Arabia,

"The leader and founder was able to lay down the foundations of a young state, deriving from God's book and from the Sunna of His prophet development programs from which the sons of his people have benefited as much as the sons of the Arab and Islamic people are benefiting. The unification of the country was a prominent turning point in the history of the area--a turning point at which the country shouldered many of the Arab and Islamic responsibilities. The country's unification was not just something that concerned the country's people and sons. Rather, the unification constituted a decisive separation between the past of the Muslims, who had been dominated by division and weakness, and their present, which demands unification of the ranks so that we can form a force that strikes fear in the hearts of the enemies of God and of His religion on earth.

"This is an opportunity for us to repeat the call to Muslims everywhere to cling to the orthodox religion because it is the path to regaining the usurped rights and strengthening the Islamic presence so that it can fight with its genuineness the challenges of communism, of atheism and of the forces hostile to the Islamic nation's progress.

"A look at the security, stability, prosperity and harmony under which the Kingdom of Saudi Arabia is living proves the soundness of our cultural march in which we proceed under the canopy of the principles of God's book and of the noble Islamic Sunna.

Let all our days be days in which we redouble our sacrifices and exert sincere efforts to build man and society. How true is God Who says in His wise book: 'And do work because God, His messenger and the faithful shall see your work!' God's peace, mercy and blessings be upon you."

His Royal Highness Prince Fahd ibn 'Abd al-'Aziz, crown prince and deputy prime minister, delivered this address on occasion of the kingdom's national day:

"In the name of God, the compassionate and the merciful, and prayers and peace be upon the noblest prophet and messenger, our prophet Muhammad, and upon all his kinsmen and companions,

Dear brothers,

We live these days in the memory of our beloved country's national day to remember the country's glorious past and strong present and to look forward to the path to a bright future from God.

The national day commemorates the unification of the country and the emergence of its great being to which we feel proud to belong. We all work in solidarity for the might and prosperity of this entity that, praise be to God, was founded with the historic and heroic efforts of the late King 'Abd al-'Aziz, the leader and the founder, who spent his entire life building our country's independence and who set its future march with strong faith and with a unique Arab and Islamic will that no difficulty could stand against. Thus, we now live under the canopy of this edifice whose abundance we enjoy and of whose name we are proud.

"Dear brothers,

"Our responsibility and our duty toward our homeland are great and ceaseless. The enormous accomplishments we have realized so far have covered all aspects of life and have materialized in all parts of this homeland. We must use these accomplishments as a motive and an incentive for further progress and prosperity. What has been accomplished so far in a short time that cannot be measured by the life of nations must reinforce our faith and strength to continue the serious work and to view the future with a strong and optimistic spirit, God willing and with the success that God grants. Moreover, what has been accomplished and what will be accomplished, God willing, requires us to always remember that what has been realized would not have been possible were it not for our clinging to a strong faith in God and for our tireless efforts to adhere to His religion and law and to apply them in all spheres of our life and our work, whether as individuals or as a state. Our national entity was founded and will continue to be founded on adherence to the application of God's law and of His prophet's Sunna. The more we cling to this law and to this Sunna and the more strongly we act on them, the more determined we will be to realize the strength and the impregnability we aspire to.

"Brothers, since its foundation, our country has exerted efforts to realize Arab solidarity in its capacity as the only entity to face the challenges engulfing our Arab world. We have considered this duty a historical trust that we have never stopped shouldering and defending. The more events and difficulties encounter our Arab nation, the stronger our faith becomes and the harder we work for solidarity, for the unity of the Arab ranks and for uniting the Arabs.

"We have always called and will continue to call, with strength from God, for Arab solidarity and for rejecting foreign axes and alliances because this is the only way to confront Israel and the forces that support it in realizing its wicked and unjust objective against our Arab nation and our Islamic countries.

"The Kingdom of Saudi Arabia has exerted extensive and sincere efforts to strengthening the importance of Arab solidarity and to have it considered of paramount importance.

"The events taking place at present before our eyes constitute an open challenge to our Arab and Islamic will and an attempt to impose foreign concepts that serve only Israel's interest. This situation has been worsened by the unjust positions taken by some of the major powers that have international influence over the ongoing struggle in the area and by their resorting to various means, including the establishment of military alliances that support falsehood and obstruct justice and the right of the Palestinian people to obtain their usurped rights and obstruct the return of noble Jerusalem to its people.

"The responsibility of the free countries, led by the United States, requires them to seek justice and to act on the inspiration of their international responsibilities now that all countries of the world have become certain of Israel's illegal practices, its expansionist plans and its usurpation of the Palestinian people's rights by brute force.

"Brothers, many as the challenges facing the Arab nation are, the Islamic existence and Muslims everywhere are faced by other challenges and plots. This situation has strengthened our faith in Islamic solidarity. It has also made our policy, which is founded on the tolerant Islamic faith, clearer to all of the Muslim countries. The Islamic solidarity that the Kingdom of Saudi Arabia urges constantly is a clear path and a comprehensive framework through which the Muslim countries can impose their presence and strengthen their good principles, which are founded on right, justice and peace. The Islamic summit held within the sanctity of al-Ka'bah clearly reflected the degree of clarity and firmness attained by the principles of Islamic solidarity.

"Brothers, our national day is a precious occasion for us to review together our national present and future and to strengthen our resolve to continue the Arab and Islamic action.

"God is the giver of success and God's peace, mercy and blessings be upon you."

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## SUDAN

### NUMAYRI SEVERELY CRITICIZED FOR CHANGES IN CIVIL SERVICE

London AL-DUSTUR in Arabic No 206, 2 Nov 81 pp 60-61

[Article by Salah Ahmad Ibrahim: "The Witness Said, 'The Invoice Is a Long One!' "]

[Text] The integrity, discipline and high standard of the civil service was one of the objects of Sudan's pride. Furthermore, the civil service in Sudan was largely independent. It was not possible to fire a civil servant without proper measures. The commissioner was the permanent commissioner, and the civil service commission at its weakest was a good guarantor. This was the case until the first military government in Sudan. However, what that government did to the civil service is considered mere child's play on a sea shore compared with what Numayri's organization, that is, his chaos did.

What Numayri did with Sudan's civil service system may be considered a Hitlerian massacre of the system's main figures and a physical liquidation of its competencies, its talents and its expertise. A civil servant said that he was made to retire before his father! There are many examples similar to this one occurring in all the state's facilities and services. The state will be burdened for a very long time by the full salaries it will have to pay to young people who were asked to retire at the outset of their career ladder and just as they were beginning to contribute [their labors to pay back] the people for their life's blood which they had spent in educating, qualifying and training them. Decisions were made to dismiss physicians, judges and all railroad workers.) Numayri has truly drained Sudan's blood and destroyed its hopes. Retirement payments may now correspond to salaries, especially after Numayri turned every civil servant into an important intellectual and disposed of a former minister by "Dragging someone else's skin over the thorns!" and "Letting everyone put his hand in this soiled pail." This grievous damage will not be alleviated by his extortionist attempt to levy taxes on people in exile so he can persist in his luxury and stupidity as he boastfully imitates the tyranny of a lion. Numayri made that attempt after it became evident to him that squandering this top-level, mid-level and professional expertise aimlessly as though he were the stupid heir of a fortune was dangerous.

This fool has unleashed economic and social calamities as well as political and moral calamities by opening Pandora's box containing a western, destructive mentality that is based on [acquiring] financial strength by any means and by the fastest means. Like a malignant cancer of the blood this mentality began ferociously eroding our lofty values and our commendable traditions. This evil man, with full knowledge of what he was doing and with the direction of minds that were more evil, created organizations that are gaining strength daily by bribery, illicit plunder, open theft and collusion against public interest. Numayri turned a public facility into his personal creation; he disposed of the country's affairs the way a gang leader would; and he turned a political decision into an excuse for enrichment and for the enrichment of those who are in a position of favor. He paralyzed the hand of justice, rendering it incapable of exacting justice. He terrorized anyone who called anyone to account, and he unleashed the rabid dogs of his media to make justifications, embellishments, distractions and excuses. He protected himself from those who were taking advantage of his political and security agencies, and then he oppressed the people, claiming that God Almighty was his partner in the crime.

After a while the veil fell and the guards were gone. The frenzied drivel about "the revolution," "development," "socialism" and "self-sufficiency" sounded like a fast-paced military march accompanied by funereal steps that seemed to say, "About face!" Instead of becoming the bread basket of the Middle East, as Numayri said it would, Sudan became the carrier of a basket full of ashes. The president stays by himself in the People's Palace--this is what it is called--gleefully munching on bananas and throwing the banana peel at the feet of citizens who cannot find transportation under a sun [so hot] that it would melt the brains of a lizard. Numayri boasts about the Kinanah project being the largest sugar refinery in the world while women in Kinanah cannot find for their children sugar worth a coin minted in Omdurman. The value of the Sudanese pound which was close to that of the pound sterling declined, and one U.S. dollar became more expensive than the Sudanese pound. Arab market brokers in Khartoum speculate on this currency for their clients, chief among whom may be the president himself. To strengthen the national currency his excellency decided that he personally should appear on the currency with a huge national turban, as though the size of the turban were an indication of the magnitude of economic understanding. His minister of private affairs, that is financial deals, who betrayed his trust even in the examination questions for the university--and there are those who today still have the text of the investigation--became the keeper of the state's secrets and the trustee of its major deals. Our poet said the truth when he said, "No one in Sudan is in his proper place. A man is no less[in value] than either his heart or his tongue." In the course of a decade the man who resents his people and his country pawned the future of his people, his country and the capabilities of his people and his country. Any good alternative who would come in his place would not be able to mend before the beginning of the new century the damage done by Numayri, not to mention introduce the change that is being hoped for. Breaking the botthe will not get rid of the glass.

What a pity! Is this the country for whose independence, freedom and prosperity we sacrificed our lives and what we hold dear while this glutton



galloped here and there in order to foster the approval and admiration of Mr Brown as he daydreamt then about playing for the al-Hilal Club in the Athletic House in Omdurman [in the competition] for the Humphrey Cup? Is this the homeland that appeared in our visions as a bridegroom? His wrists were covered with red silk; he wore a rosary around his neck that bespoke his affluence; his forehead was covered with a red kerchief and a golden crescent; and the parting in his hair had the fragrance of sandalwood. Is this the homeland that frolicked in our visions and our dreams like a bride in all her brilliance, decked with jewelry of gold, silver, copper and iron and [surrounded by] treasures that lie deep in the earth and in the bottom of the Red Sea? Is this the homeland whose people we had hoped would have an abundance of fresh milk every morning, build up a healthy sweat [during the day] and then get together every evening to enjoy a good meal as we stand at attention ready to serve them, adjuring them to enrich themselves with God's blessings and to thank God for them? We pray for them in this alarming winter that charity may prevail, that their counsel in matters be taken and that daily work become an ideal of manhood to rush to. We pray that the people be happy and cheerful in their hours of leisure; that they have the hot liver of a camel and a wholesome drink on their tables; that they have dates with their coffee; that the milk they drink be rich; that they eat butter and honey; and that they have beside them containers full of fresh, clean water as the singer of the district sings. (We cherish you [the Sudan], in loving you; we cherish you, we mountains; let us bask in your delights, and cherish you) [colloquial song lyrics]. But the man killed Salih's camel and proceeded in the morning to carry out his plowing chores. Sudan under his hands became "a problem country" in which all amounts of aid were poured only to be eaten up by the sand as though they had not been there at all. The sands of Sudan are merely the foolish economic policies and corrupt consciences [that prevail in Sudan today].

Impoverished Sudan has become the 17th of the 25 poorest countries in the world. (Brani Gupta), THE NEW YORK TIMES', correspondent in Khartoum, reported this month that a western diplomat who has been observing Sudan's economy said that "Sudan is more bankrupt today than it has ever been in the past. The Sudanese people are finding themselves 'in a pickle,' for Sudanese authorities have to put out fires every day." The motivation behind the aid that the west is offering the Sudanese regime today--there is a team from the International Monetary Fund in Sudan to decide on offering a 250 million dollar [aid package], even though it is known that the IMF had previously offered 450 million dollars to help Sudan overcome the problems of the balance of payments--is more political than it is economical. The condition of the sick man of Africa is totally hopeless as long as he remains under the control of the present group. Sudan is constantly being revived, and we do not know if it is receiving or giving blood transfusions. Random cables from the International Bank of Reconstruction and Development to the various financing organizations and from these organizations to others ask that further dealings with Sudan be stopped because Sudan has failed to meet its obligations. Arab funds had done that a long time ago, but they did that quietly and courteously. But Sudan failed to trim its budget and reduce imports. Sudan sold everything: its land and its

honor "in order to tempt Reagan to propose that Washington use Sudan's airstrips and naval bases." This is what was written in NEWSWEEK on 21 September under the title, "Reagan's Fond Ally." The magazine was referring to Numayri. Numayri has sold everything, and he can no longer find any buyers. Sudan's condition is like that of the dying woman in the movie, "Zorba the Greek." There is nothing left for the creditors to take except underwear. In order to get a vague statement from Chevron that large quantities of oil have been discovered in Sudan so that Numayri can explain the thwarted hopes and the resentful mouths, he gave Chevron another free concession in a new area of the country. \* Can the reader imagine that?

Sudan's delinquent payments which it owes to western banks amount to 450 million dollars--part of a 3 billion dollars foreign loan. Muhammad Ahmad and Majuk have to pay 3 billion dollars! As Bayram al-Tunsi \*\* said, "How much for the children, and how much for the municipal council?" It's been said that when the governor of a province in west Sudan told Numayri that there was a semi-famine in his province, Numayri brazenly chided him, "Are their ribs showing?" The deficit in the balance of payments in favor of the U.S. Department of Commerce is 700 million dollars. Western economists estimate that the annual rate of inflation in Sudan is 50 percent. But why should we worry when the Sudanese pound has become more powerful with Numayri's Swiss cotton turban? Meanwhile, total imports rose 25 percent to almost 2 billion [dollars], while exports declined 3.3 percent, almost 500 million dollars. Most of these funds are used to purchase fuel to run luxurious cars--every province has a full-fledged cabinet with ministers and deputy ministers: the titles of a misplaced kingdom--and to procure generators for the homes of the nouveaux riches and for projects that cost more than the profit they yield. All this is due to the foolishness of the political decisions that are made or at least to the deranged objectives that underlie those decisions. The people are mourning the al-Jazirah project, the pride of Sudan and a world model of management and organization: it's been afflicted with Numayri's curse. It has the same life threatening disease: one feddan yields between two and three qintars [of cotton], and the returns from cotton do not exceed 150 million dollars.

Numayri does not have to make up a threat to dispel the resentment that exists against him. Now that the falcon has fallen, all he has to do is to wail here and there that Sudan's problem is an outside threat that is coming these days from the colonel. [Actually], the threat to Sudan is Numayri himself. The same correspondent of the U.S. magazine NEWSWEEK states in the aforementioned issue that "Numayri's close advisers express their concern that Numayri's suspicions of threats to him from abroad are blinding him to local threats that stem from Sudan and that are more threatening to him." The correspondent also says, "Western experts doubt

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\* Chevron's concession amounts to 112,000 square miles which cover the largest area of hitherto unexplored land. (From THE HERALD TRIBUNE, 30 September 1981).

\*\* [Translator's note: Bayram al-Tunsi is an Egyptian literary figure, well-known for his popular verse].

that al-Qadhdhafi would test this alliance"--the correspondent is referring to the alliance between al-Sadat and his employee in Sudan--"with a direct invasion. However, Numayri is not confident of this." Numayri is now facing the necessity of realizing net savings of over 159 million dollars, as the International Monetary Fund asked him to do. Therefore, he has to starve the dusky people more than they are being starved now by raising prices for necessities. Where is the escape? Is it advantageous to him to arrest everybody or to have his troops take part in maneuvers with Egyptians and Americans?

Ja'far, son of Umm Ja'far, this advice is for you. What you need is a bullet to pierce the layers of your stupidity or settle in the darkest recesses of your resentment. Your time is running out, and it will come to an end with a sword or with something else. This is a fact that you have to become aware of before . . . what a thought! You have to become aware of this now that you've seen the demise of your protectors without warning. What a difference between 'Umar standing upright in your presence bestowing upon you the good names of God while the king of death urges him to bring his protection to an end! You think that Anwar was supporting you, and yet he met his fate in the height of his splendor and power. No living person lives forever. This advice is a word of truth spoken to every tyrant. Look at what you did to the hungry man's food and what you did to the young man's future. Don't repeat the words of God like a parrot. Show your charity to God's children or else you will soon regret it.

Return the stolen goods to their owners. Cancel the fraudulent deals. Wash your hands of a trust which you ignorantly and unjustly abused. Don't forget before all this to lock up all the evil and lazy people around you. If you do this, then cover yourself with a shirt woven with bowstring hemp fibers al-'ashar [meaning unknown]; wear a millstone around your neck; and shed tears of regret that would fill the troughs of those who are thirsty and dying. Ask forgiveness for your grievous sin so that the hearts of those against whom you sinned and those whose hopes you crushed under your iron heel and your cotton turban may have mercy on your repentance. The clouds that carry the prayers of those who were unjustly treated may intercede for you. Till when, Ja'far, son of Umm Ja'far, will you fault the sun and ram the rocks? How long will you follow the mirage? An alleged, false resignation will not be enough. A resignation brought about by irritations and crises and [a desire to] escape the violent wrath of the masses over the funds that have been smuggled abroad will not do. At any rate, he who does a good deed does it for himself. God is everywhere around you. But our people will never forget [your] vile actions. You will be condemned by historians who do not falsify facts, do not dissemble and do not take bribes. You will go like those who have gone before you, and your name will be cursed forever.

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